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THE NEW TESTAMENT

AND

ITS WRITERS

THE NEW TESTAMENT

AND

ITS WRITERS

*BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT*

BY

REV. J. A. M[✓]CLYMONT, B.D.,

JOINT-TRANSLATOR OF

DR J. T. BECK'S "PASTORAL THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

NEW YORK

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1893

PREFACE.

THE favourable reception accorded to *The New Testament and Its Writers* in its original form, as one of the series of Guild and Bible-Class Text-books¹ issued by the Christian Life and Work Committee of the Church of Scotland, has encouraged the author to present it in a form more suitable for general readers. While serving other purposes, he believes it may be specially helpful to ministers and other teachers who are using the small edition in their Bible-Classes.

The author has to acknowledge the kindness of Mrs. Lewis of Cambridge in favouring him with the photograph of the Syriac Palimpsest recently discovered by her, that is here reproduced ; and he would also record his obligations to his friend the Rev. R. S. Kemp, B.D., for his valuable assistance in the revision of the proof-sheets.

It may be well to add that in the Scripture quotations it is the Revised Version that is almost always followed.

September 1893.

¹ Edited by the Very Reverend Professor Charteris, D.D., and the writer.

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Map, showing nearly all the places mentioned in this volume.

Facsimile specimens of the Sinaitic (S), Vatican (B), and Alexandrine (A) MSS.; of the Ephraemi Palimpsest (C), and of the Old Latin and Syriac Versions, including the newly-discovered Palimpsest of the Syriac Gospels.

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NOTE.—The districts marked Asia and Phrygia constituted the Roman province of

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 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΔΩ ΩΣ ΔΙ
 ΗΝΥΓΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ
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 ΝΑΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΗ
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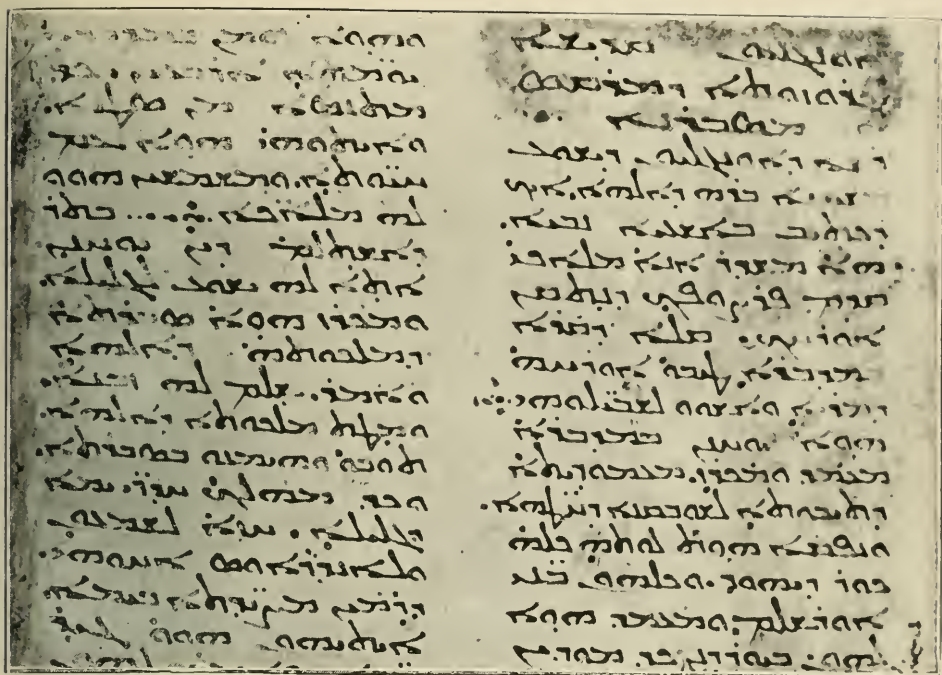
Codex Sinaiticus (S). Luke xxiv., 31-33.
 (After Tischendorf). See p. 11.

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 Α
 ΧΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ
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 ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗ ΛΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΑ
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 ΠΡΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΟΥ ΣΟΥ Ο
 ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΔ
 ΣΟΥ ΦΩΝΗ ΒΟΩΝΤΟΣ
 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΡΗΜΩ ΕΤΟΙΜΑ
 ΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΚΥ ΕΥΘΕΙΑ
 ΠΟΙΕΙΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΤΡΙΒΟΥΣ ΑΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΙΩΑΝΗΣ
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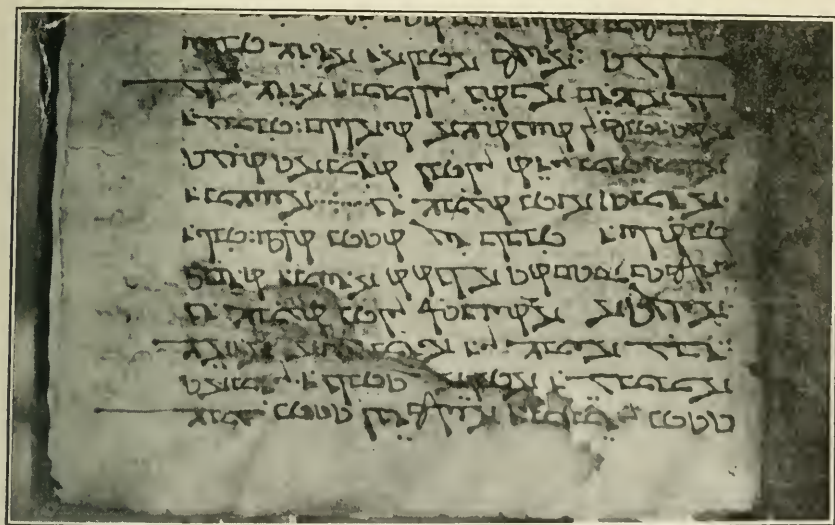
Codex Vaticanus (B). Mark i., 1-4. (From the original).
 See p. 11.

Mors mundi
bñs edixit
in xñs amen
amen dico uo
bis amodo ui
debitis celo
ros per os ei
et ascendet

En factum est
per multam
turbam uocato-
rum uinum con-
summare
materiam penam
dixit ad eum ui-
rum non ha-
bentem



Syriac. Peshito Version (Codex add. 14470), of the 5th or 6th century. Beginning of Mark.
(From the original). See p. 14.



Palimpsest MS. of old Syriac Gospels discovered in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai by Mrs. S. S. Lewis, in February, 1892. The upper or later writing is a martyrology of women-saints, and is dated the year of the Greeks 1000 (A.D. 778). The under-writing, which is in two columns, contains the text of the Four Gospels, in the usual order, complete with the exception of a few pages of St. John. The material is fine vellum. The portion given above is the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel. (From a photograph of the original). See p. 14.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS WRITERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Its Name.*

THE New Testament forms the second and concluding portion of the Revelation given to the world in the line of Jewish history. It derives its name from an expression used by the Lord Jesus Christ in the institution of the rite which was designed to commemorate His death—"This cup is the new testament in my blood"—more correctly, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (R.V.), in contrast with the old covenant made with Moses.¹ The use of the word "testament" in this sense was due to the Latin *testamentum*, which was early adopted as an equivalent for the Greek word meaning "covenant."²

2. *Its Language.*

A period of about four hundred years had elapsed after the last of the Old Testament Scriptures was written before the New Testament was commenced. In the interval the Jewish people, spreading far and wide in the pursuit of arts and commerce, had become familiar with the Greek

¹ Luke xxii. 20; Matt. xxvi. 28; the Lord hath made with you."
1 Cor. xi. 25; cf. Exod. xxiv. 8: "Be-
hold the blood of the covenant, which

² Διαθήκη.

tongue, which was the intellectual bond of the civilised world, as the Roman empire was its bond in a social and political sense. Into this language the Scriptures of the Old Testament had been translated from the Hebrew, about 200 B.C., at Alexandria, the great meeting-place of Rabbinical learning and Hellenic culture.¹ From the amalgamation of these and other elements there resulted a form of Greek known as the "common" or Hellenistic Greek. It was in this language that the New Testament was written—a language marvellously fitted for the purpose, both because of the wide prevalence of Greek among the civilised nations of the time (resulting from the conquests of Alexander the Great), and on account of its unrivalled clearness, richness, and flexibility. Hence the New Testament has been aptly described as having "a Greek body, a Hebrew soul, and a Christian spirit that animates them both."²

3. *Its Contents.*

The New Testament Scriptures consist of twenty-seven different books, varying in their form and character—the first in order mainly historical, the next doctrinal, and the concluding portion relating to vision and prophecy. This is an order somewhat analogous to that found in the Old Testament, many of whose characteristics alike as regards thought and expression are reflected in the New Testament. The twenty-seven books are the work of nine different authors (assuming the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by some other person than St. Paul), each book having its special characteristics corresponding to the personality of its writer and the circumstances in which it was written, but all forming part of one divine whole centred in the Lord Jesus Christ and essentially

¹ The Septuagint, so called because said to have been executed by *seventy* Jews brought to Alexandria from Jerusalem for this purpose by Ptolemy Philadelphus. The work was done

very gradually and with varying degrees of skill between 280 B.C. and 150 B.C.

² Dr. Ph. Schaff, *Hist. Ap. Ch.*, p. 573.

related to an unseen world.¹ They were written at various times, but all in the latter half of the first century—except perhaps the Epistle of James, which was probably written before 50 A.D.²

4. *Manuscripts.*

The original MSS. have all perished.³ If written on papyrus⁴ for ordinary use they would not last, while those of a more durable substance would be in frequent danger of destruction at the hands of persecutors.⁵ Hence the vast majority of extant MSS. are of a comparatively modern date—anterior, however, to the invention of printing in 1450, when the copying of MSS. practically ceased. A few precious copies written on vellum or parchment have come down to us from a very early period, the most important of which are (1) the Sinaitic (Codex \aleph), and (2) the Vatican (Codex B) both of the fourth century; (3) the Alexandrine (Codex A) of the fifth century; (4) Codex Ephraemi (C), also of the fifth century, and Codex Bezae (D) of the sixth century. These and other ancient MSS. to the number of about a hundred are

¹ "The books of Scripture are a series, not a congeries. This is true of the Bible as a whole, and is the most remarkable fact in literature as well as in religion."—Prof. Charteris, *The New Testament Scriptures*, p. 3. On the Canon see Note A at the end of this chapter.

² Speaking generally, this may now be said to be the opinion of the great majority of critics who are willing to be guided by evidence as they would in the case of any other books. "In recent years," says Prof. Ramsay in his preface to *The Church in the Roman Empire*, "as I came to understand Roman history better, I have realised that, in the case of almost all the books of the New Testament, it is as gross an outrage on criticism to hold them for second century forgeries as it would be to class the works of Horace and Virgil as forgeries of the time of Nero."

³ Even in the second century they had ceased to be available for reference, as we learn from Irenæus writing in the

latter part of that century, and from Origen who lived about fifty years later.

⁴ Papyrus (with a pen of reed, not a metal pen or stylus), seems to be referred to in 2 John, ver. 12 (χάρτον, cf. καλᾶμου, 3 John, ver. 13); but parchment in 2 Tim. iv. 13 (τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας). The Egyptian and other papyri to be found in museums owe their preservation to special circumstances which saved them from exposure and from tear and wear.

⁵ For example, immense numbers of MSS. were destroyed by Imperial edict in the Diocletian persecution in the beginning of the fourth century; and even in Britain (as we learn from Gildas the historian) great piles were burned during the persecutions of the third century. A common way of avoiding punishment was to hand over the sacred books to the authorities, those who did so being known among their brethren by the name of *traditores* (traitors).

called Uncials,¹ because written with capital letters without any separation between the words,—the others of a more modern character being called Minuscules or Cursives, because written in a small running hand.² Of the latter there are about 2000—an immense array of witnesses compared with the few MSS. of classical works preserved to us, which can frequently be counted on the ten fingers.³ Owing to the greater liability to error in copying with the hand than in the use of the printing press, about 200,000 Various Readings have been discovered in the extant MSS. of the New Testament.⁴ Happily the differences between the

¹ From the Latin *uncia*, an inch, referring to the size of the letters.

² For further information regarding MSS. see Note B at end of this chapter.

³ The MSS. of Horace amount to about 250; those of Virgil are also very numerous, one of them dating from the second century. But of Catullus, the earliest MS. is of the fourteenth century; of Cornelius Nepos, of the twelfth; of Thucydides, of the eleventh; of Herodotus, of the tenth; of Cæsar's Commentaries, of the ninth; while the six Books of Tacitus' *Annals* only exist in one MS., which was brought to light in the fifteenth century. "The correspondence of Pliny with Trajan," Professor Ramsay remarks, "depends on a single manuscript of unknown age, found in Paris about 1500, apparently taken to Italy in the next few years, used by several persons before 1508, and never since seen or known. In spite of this suspicious history, the correspondence is indubitably genuine."

⁴ By 200,000 Various Readings, it must not be supposed to be meant that there are 200,000 passages of Scripture in which the text is variously represented. The Readings are ascertained by comparing every MS. in turn with the standard text, and every instance in which a difference is found, even though it should affect nothing but a word, is reckoned as a Various Reading, the number of such instances in all the different MSS. (including Versions and quotations in the Fathers) being summed up to ascertain the whole. Moreover, many of the readings are plainly erroneous and do not cause the slightest doubt or perplexity, while many others affect the form of expression only. Hence we find Westcott and Hort (Intro-

duction, p. 1) giving it as their opinion that "the words still subject to doubt only make up about one-sixtieth of the whole New Testament"; and again they state that "the amount of what can in any sense be called substantial variation is but a small part of the whole residuary variation, and can hardly form more than a thousandth part of the entire text." As compared with other ancient books, it must be remembered that the large number of various readings in the New Testament is due, not to the excessive corruption of the text, but to the immense number of copies that have been preserved for us. The process of copying was in every case sure to be attended with more or less error, and every time a copy became itself a model for transcription, new errors were inevitably added to the old. Every addition to the number of MSS. thus brings an addition to the number of readings; but instead of wishing to get rid of any MS., critics find each one to be a witness in some sort to the true text, and welcome every addition to their number. The result of a critical examination of the immense array of documentary evidence that is now at our disposal has been to give us a much purer text—adopted, with substantial unanimity by the greatest authorities of our day (Tischendorf, New Testament, 8th edition, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort),—than that which was known and accepted by the scholars of the sixteenth century (Textus Receptus). Hence the famous words of Bentley have only been verified by time: "Make your thirty thousand (various readings) as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is

readings are for the most part so minute that they do not affect the substance of revealed truth. As it is the duty of the Church, however, to ascertain as far as possible, the exact words of the sacred writers, a special department of study has been instituted, commonly known as Textual Criticism, which has for its aim to adjudicate on the rival claims of the various readings, with due regard to the age and special characteristics of the several manuscripts, as well as to the common risks of misapprehension and inadvertence to which all copyists were liable.¹

5. *Other Witnesses.*

In the performance of the difficult and delicate task just mentioned attention must be paid to two other valuable sources of information. (1) Those writings of Church Fathers—ranging from the end of the first century to the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era—which contain quotations from the New Testament.² The value of the Fathers as a help in determining the exact text of Scripture is a good deal impaired by the fact that, not having the advantage of a Concordance, or of our divisions into chapters and verses, they frequently quote from memory and not with strict accuracy.³ This is of less moment,

thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet, with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same."

¹For fuller information regarding the Sources and Methods of Textual Criticism see Note C at the end of this chapter.

²In this respect, as well as in the matter of MSS., the New Testament books occupy a much better position than most of the ancient classics. For example, the *Annals* of Tacitus, above referred to, are not distinctly mentioned till the fifteenth century, although there is what may possibly be an allusion to them in a work of the fifth century. Livy is not quoted for a

century after he wrote; Thucydides for two centuries after his death; while Herodotus is only quoted twice for two hundred years after his death. A remarkable instance is the *Roman History* of Velleius Paterculus, which (Dr. Salmon remarks) "has come down to us in a single, very corrupt manuscript, and the book is only once quoted by Priscian, a grammarian of the sixth century; yet no one entertains the smallest doubt of its genuineness."

³The first Concordance was produced by Antonius of Padua, followed by Cardinal Hugo, in the thirteenth century. To the latter was also due the division of the Bible into the existing chapters; but the division into verses was the work of Robert Stephens, the celebrated editor and printer of the New Testament, who did it in the course of a journey from Paris to Lyons ("inter

however, when the object is not so much to ascertain the precise language of Scripture as to prove the existence and general reception of the books of the New Testament at an early period in the history of the Church.¹ (2) Ancient Versions or Translations, some of which (for example, the Syriac and Old Latin) were made within a century after the time of the apostles.² These, also, afford valuable evidence as to the canonicity of particular books—some of them having been current as early as the second century, and being still preserved in ancient MSS. dating, in some cases, from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. As regards *readings*, their testimony is often uncertain owing to the want of exact correspondence between their language and that of the original; but where the translation is of a literal character, as it is, for example, in the case of the Old Latin Versions, the language of the original in a disputed passage may be inferred with a near approach to certainty. Even the errors of the translator sometimes indicate quite plainly what words he had before him in the Greek; while, in a question of the omission or insertion of a clause, an ordinary version speaks

equitandum," as his son informs us), which may account for the imperfect manner in which the task was executed.

Other modes of division, however, existed from a very early period. The division into lines (*στίχοι*), known as stichometry, seems to have been in use before the beginning of the Christian era and was applied to Scripture by Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, about the middle of the fifth century, who prepared an edition of the Acts and Epistles in which every fiftieth line was noted in the margin and the text was divided into lections and chapters. Corresponding to these *κεφάλαια* (chapters) of Euthalius are the still earlier *τίτλοι* of the Gospels, being a kind of summary of contents placed at the beginning of each Gospel or at the top or bottom of each page. With the name of Ammonius (third century) is associated a system of division into sections, which was originally employed as a means of presenting a Harmony of the Gospels

in four parallel columns. In connection with this arrangement a plan was devised by Eusebius for enabling a reader to ascertain at once the corresponding passages in the several Gospels. He distributed the sections under ten tables called *Canons*, the first containing the numbers of the sections common to all the four Gospels, the second those found in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and so on. These *Canons* were frequently prefixed to MSS.; and in the margin of the text, under the number of the section, the number of the canon in which it was to be found was frequently marked in red ink.

¹ For information regarding the Church Fathers whose citations are referred to in subsequent chapters see Appendix, pp. 279-287. The citations themselves may be found in Charteris' *Canonicity*, or in Westcott's *History of the New Testament Canon*.

² Regarding the several Versions see Note B at end of chapter.

as plainly as a MS. in the original. When the testimony of a version is clear and unmistakable, its confirmation of a reading may be even more valuable, especially if supported by another version, than if it were in Greek, owing to the improbability of a passage being corrupted in the same way in two or three languages.

Although the New Testament has been translated into almost all tongues, it is only the earliest translations, represented by MSS. of sufficient age, that have testimony of any value to offer, either as regards the canonicity of books or the correctness of readings. Such versions are comparatively few in number, and many of the MSS. in which they are preserved have not yet been examined with sufficient care to put us in possession of a thoroughly reliable text and render their evidence fully available.

6. *English Versions.*

The first English version was completed by John Wycliff in 1383. It was, however, only the translation of a translation (the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome). The first English translation from the Greek was finished by William Tyndale in 1525, and put in print the following year at Worms. This was followed by Miles Coverdale's translation of the whole Bible in 1535, the *Great Bible*, usually called *Cranmer's* (for use in Churches), in 1539, the *Geneva Bible* in 1557, the *Bishop's Bible* in 1568, and *King James's Bible* (the *Authorised Version*) in 1611. The most recent and reliable results of Biblical criticism are embodied in the Revised Version of 1881, which has in this respect, as in regard to accuracy of translation, an unquestionable superiority over the Authorised Version, the latter having been made at a time when the science was still in its infancy, and before any of the three chief MSS. above referred to were available for reference. Possibly the next generation may see further improvements, as the result of a closer examination of MSS., Versions,

and other ancient writings, as well as through an enhanced appreciation of the language of the New Testament, in the light of the Greek translation of the Old Testament (the Septuagint) and other Hellenistic literature; but, after all, any points in which our English Bible is capable of improvement are infinitesimal compared with the general trustworthiness of its contents. Of its imperfections as a translation it may be said, with scarcely less truth than of obscurities in the original, that "like the spots upon the surface of the sun, they neither mar the symmetry nor impair the glory of the great Source of our Life and Light which is imaged in them."¹

NOTE A on the Canon.

The original meaning of the word *canon* (κανών) is a rod, especially as a standard of measurement. As applied to the Scriptures it may either be taken in an active or a passive sense, as determining the Church's faith, or as itself approved and sanctioned by the Church; but in actual use the two meanings can hardly be separated. Although the word occurs in the New Testament (2 Cor. x. 13-16, Gal. vi. 16), and in some of the early Fathers (in such expressions as *rule of faith, of truth, of the Church*), the first writer that clearly and directly applies the term to the Scriptures is Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, in the latter part of the fourth century. More than a hundred years earlier, however, we find in the writings of Origen the words *canonical, canonized*, in the sense of being acknowledged as authoritative, whence it would seem that the passive sense of the word was then dominant. The formation of the Canon was a very gradual process. As the New Testament writings only came into existence by degrees to meet the practical needs of the Church, so the collection of these writings and their setting apart for sacred uses was only accomplished by degrees, with the general consent of the Church, as its leading representatives in different parts of the world came to realize the insufficiency and uncertainty of oral tradition and the need for securing its faith and doctrine against invasion and corruption.

¹ Westcott's *Introduction to the Gospels*, 7th edition, p. 399.

It is not easy to fix the precise date at which the Christian writings attained to a position of equality with the Old Testament in the estimation of the Church. In the Epistle of Barnabas we find a quotation from St. Matthew's Gospel introduced with the usual formula of quotation from the Old Testament—viz., “as it is written.” In the Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians (§ 5) there is an allusion to “the gospel,” “the apostles,” and “the prophets,” which is understood by some to refer to the several portions of Scripture bearing these names, although the words certainly admit of being taken in a more general sense. In the Apology of Aristides (§§ 15, 16) there are two direct allusions to Christian Writings, described in one case as “the sacred writing which among them (the Christians) is called Gospel” (literally, “evangelic,” *εὐαγγελικῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς*). In the Apology of Justin Martyr (i. 67) it is stated that “the memoirs of the apostles”—which we may confidently identify with our Gospels—were read in church every Sunday like the writings of the prophets. A generation later we find Theophilus of Antioch (180 A.D.) putting the writings of the prophets and evangelists on the same level, as inspired by the one Spirit of God, and quoting from Paul's epistles as “the divine word” (*ὁ θεῖος λόγος*). Towards the end of the second century we find a canon recognised by Irenæus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian of Carthage, consisting of two definite portions—viz., “the gospel” (*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*), and “the apostle” (*ὁ ἀπόστολος*), the latter including the Apocalypse. The canon was substantially the same in each case, and embraced almost all our New Testament books, the only ones questioned by any of these writers being Hebrews, James, Jude, 1 and 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John; but it also included several other books as more or less authoritative—viz., the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Apocalypse of Peter. In the Scillitan Martyrs, however (about 180 A.D.), Paul's Epistles are distinguished from the *Books*,—a circumstance which would seem to indicate that they had not yet attained to the same position as the Gospels, in some parts of the Church.

The earliest list of the New Testament books that has come down to us is preserved in the Muratorian Fragment (about 170 A.D.). The only books of our New Testament that are not recognised in it, directly or indirectly, are 1 and 2 Peter, James, Hebrews, and one of John's Epistles, only two of his being mentioned. The Old Latin Version contains all but 2 Peter, Hebrews, and James; the Syriac all but 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation.

An important witness towards the middle of the third century is Origen, who seems to have divided the books into three classes: (1) authentic, (2) not authentic, and (3) intermediate, in which last class he placed James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John,—all the rest of our New Testament being put among the authentic books. A somewhat similar

division was followed by Eusebius, in the early part of the fourth century, who was commissioned by the Emperor Constantine to make a collection of the sacred books for the use of the Catholic Church. In the first class, those commonly accepted (*ὁμολογούμενα*), Eusebius places all our New Testament books except James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, which he assigns to the second class, the disputed books (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*), recognised, however, by most. In the third class, the spurious books (*νόθα*), he enumerates the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd (of Hermas), the Revelation of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Teaching of the Apostles, and also remarks that the Apocalypse of John must be included in the same class by those who reject it, as well as (in the opinion of some) the Gospel according to the Hebrews. As altogether beyond the pale of recognition, Eusebius mentions certain heretical books, put forward in the name of Apostles (such as the Gospels of Peter and Thomas and Matthias, and the Acts of Andrew and John), whose language and tone of thought convicted them of being forgeries, and which had received no recognition from the successive Church Fathers.

Before the close of the fourth century, the extent of the Canon was formally settled by the collective wisdom of the Church expressed through her Councils, first at Laodicea in 364 (if the genuineness of the Decree on the subject be admitted), and at the third Council of Carthage in 397, when the very same books as are contained in our New Testament were declared to be canonical and the only ones that should be read in church.

The history of the formation of the New Testament Canon has been conveniently summarized by Bishop Westcott, who divides it into three periods. "Of these the first extends to the time of Hegesippus (A.D. 70-170); the second to the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 170-303); and the last to the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 303-397). . . . The first includes the area of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the Sacred Writings; the second completes the history of their separation from the mass of ecclesiastical literature; the third comprises the formal ratification of the current belief by the authority of councils" (*The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 15).

In connection with the history of the New Testament Canon, there are two points that may occasion difficulty :—(1) that a number of the books contained in our New Testament lay under suspicion for a time in some parts of the Church; (2) that a number of books which are not in it were widely regarded, for a time, as more or less authoritative, and publicly read in church. The explanation in both cases is to be found in the general principle on which the Canon was determined by the Church, namely, that it should contain only the writings of apostles and of those who had written under the influence or direction of apostles. In the case of the three books outside of our New Testa-

ment that were most revered—viz., the Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, the author was identified with the person of the same name, mentioned in the New Testament in connection with the Apostle Paul (Phil. iv. 3 ; Acts xii. 25, &c. ; Rom. xvi. 14) ; while on the other hand it was because their genuineness was considered doubtful that the right of certain of our books to a place in the Canon was called in question. Ultimately, however, a decisive judgment was arrived at by the Church, and the same Council of Carthage which sanctioned the admission of disputed books excluded certain other books that had been regarded as more or less authoritative—the result being that the Canon was fixed precisely as it now stands in our English Version.

NOTE B on MSS. and Versions.

I. MANUSCRIPTS.

1. The *Sinaitic* MS. (Σ) was discovered by Tischendorf in 1844, when he was on a visit to the Convent of St. Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai. The monks had no idea of its value till they saw the importance attached by Tischendorf to some forty leaves of it which he picked out of a waste-paper basket. It was not till he made a third visit in 1859 under the patronage of the Czar, the temporal head of the Greek Church, that he succeeded in obtaining the whole existing MS., which now lies at St. Petersburg. It is written on the finest vellum on pages of more than a foot square, each sheet of two leaves representing the entire skin of an animal. The page is arranged in four columns, giving it the appearance of the old papyrus rolls. It is supposed to have been the work of four different scribes, two of whom were employed on the New Testament, but it bears traces of revision by perhaps no less than twelve correctors before the thirteenth century, and the characters seem to have been retraced in the eighth century. Besides the New Testament it contains part of the Septuagint and other writings.

2. The *Vatican* MS. (B), so called because it has lain for centuries in the Papal residence of that name at Rome, is also written on beautiful thin vellum. Its page and also the characters in which it is written are rather smaller than those of the *Sinaitic*, to which it bears a general resemblance. There are three columns in each page. Like the *Sinaitic* it has been retraced by some scribe, probably of the tenth century, whose workmanship has a good deal impaired the beauty of the characters. It contains the Old Testament and most of the New.

3. The *Alexandrine* MS. (A) was presented to Charles I. by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1628, and now lies in the British Museum. It has two columns to the page of fifty lines each. It is usually assigned to the fifth century. Both Old and New Testaments are nearly complete.

4. Of about the same date is Codex Ephraemi (C), deposited in the National Library of Paris. The original writing was effaced in the twelfth century to make room for the writings of Ephraem Syrus. Hence the document is called a *patimpsest*. It is very fragmentary.

5. Codex Bezae (D) is a MS. of the sixth century, containing the Gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin, the Greek occupying the left-hand page and the Latin the right, there being only one column to the page. It has evidently been corrected and largely interpolated at various times by many different hands, and bears traces especially of Syrian influence. It lies in the Cambridge University Library.

Few of the MSS. are dated, but in general it is not difficult to determine the age of a MS. from its handwriting, material, &c. "It may be laid down as a general rule that the more upright, square, and simple the uncial characters are, the earlier is the writing. Narrow, oblong, and leaning characters came in later, together with greater elaborateness in style. Absence of initial letters of larger size than the rest, is a mark of antiquity. In the earlier MSS., marks of breathing, accent, and punctuation are very rare, frequently absent altogether, or, if present, inserted on no apparent fixed principle, except that a dot to mark the division of sentences became pretty general about the beginning of the fifth century" (Hammond's *Textual Criticism*, p. 31).

The Uncials range from the fourth to the tenth century, the Cursives from the ninth to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. One MS. (A. Tischendorfianus III. Oxoniensis) of the ninth century is written partly in uncials, partly in minuscules. The Uncials are now usually designated by the capital letters of the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew alphabet, the Cursives by Arabic numerals. These symbols, however, do not denote the whole New Testament in each case, but individual parts of which it is composed, forming originally, it may be, separate codices, and copied by different scribes—viz., (1) the Gospels; (2) the Acts and Catholic Epistles; (3) the Pauline Epistles; and (4) the Apocalypse—usually arranged in this order. The same symbol is generally, but not always, assigned to the several parts of a MS. so far as they exist. This is the case with the Sinaitic (Ⲙ), which is the only complete MS. of the New Testament, the Alexandrine (A), which is nearly complete, and the Codex Ephraemi (C), from which none of the four sections is altogether wanting. Where one or more of the portions is wanting, the symbol is applied, in the case of a missing part, to some other MS.; e.g. B, which is the name of the great Vatican MS., represents in the Apocalypse (which is absent from the Vatican), quite a different and far inferior MS. (Cod. Basilianus). When the same letter is thus applied to more than one MS., its repeated use is indicated by a small numeral appended to it, as E₁, E₂, E₃. Many of the later Uncials are Lectionaries (denoted by numerals not capitals) composed of passages selected for reading in church, and consisting of

(1) *Evangelistaria* (from the Gospel), and (2) *Praxapostoli* or *Apostoli* (from Acts and Epistles). The oldest Lectionary in Greek is of the eighth century, in Syriac of the sixth century, but traces of their existence at an earlier period may be found in the writings of Chrysostom (fourth century) and other Church Fathers.

Many of the MSS. enumerated by critics are mere fragments, consisting in some cases of a few words or verses. The Gospels greatly predominate.

II. VERSIONS.

The following are the most important :—

(1) *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin. Evidence of its existence in the second century is afforded by the statements of Tertullian (200 A.D.), and of its character by the numerous quotations in the writings of Cyprian (250 A.D.). In its earliest form it seems to have originated in Africa, where these Church Fathers lived, and hence the oldest and rudest type of Latin text is called “African.” In the third or fourth century a somewhat different text (possibly a revision of the other) seems to have come into use in Western Europe, especially in North Italy,—which critics now designate “European”; and this in turn was succeeded by a new revision (made with the aid of the Greek text), to which the name of “Italian” is applied, as being identical with the improved version to which Augustine alludes under the name of *Itala*. So much error and confusion had by this time crept into the Latin text both of the Old and New Testaments, owing to the “interpretum numerositas,” that at the request of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, Jerome, the greatest scholar of his day, undertook (383 A.D.) a new revision of the Latin Bible with the aid of the Greek and Hebrew originals. Bitterly opposed at first, this Version (which, so far as the New Testament is concerned, introduced few important changes except in the Gospels), became in course of time the accepted standard of the Church, and was recognised as such by the Council of Trent (1545 A.D.), which described it as “the ancient and commonly received edition” (*vetus et vulgata editio*—whence the name *Vulgate*). Efforts were subsequently made to purge the text from the corruptions that had crept into it since the days of Jerome; and an authorized edition was issued by Clement VIII. in 1592, which still retains its position of supremacy in the Church of Rome.

(2) *Syriac* or *Aramæan*. This translation is almost in the language spoken by the inhabitants of Palestine in our Lord’s day. It can be traced to the first half of the second century; but it may have existed even earlier. Its oldest form is represented by a MS. of the fifth century, containing fragments of the Gospels, which was brought from an Egyptian Monastery by Dr. Cureton in 1842, and now lies in the British Museum; but, like the Old Latin, this Version underwent

important revision about the end of the third century, resulting in the translation known as the Peshito (*Simple*), which was widely used in the most flourishing period of the Syrian Church (as the Vulgate was in the Churches of the West), and still holds a place of honour in the East. Its oldest MS. is Cod. Additionalis in the British Museum. It contains all the books of the New Testament except 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation. Another Syriac Version called the Philoxenian, of a very literal character, was made by one Polycarp, under the auspices of Philoxenus, Bishop of Hierapolis, about 508 A.D. A century later it was revised, and enriched with valuable marginal notes from Greek MSS. by Thomas of Harkel—this edition being hence called Harklensian, or Harklean. Many copies of it are still extant. The Jerusalem Syriac (peculiar in its dialect), of which only a few meagre fragments remain, was probably made in the fifth or sixth century. In general the value of the Syriac testimony is greatly impaired by the paucity of ancient MSS. as well as of Patristic quotations. Quite recently a Palimpsest of the Gospels has been discovered, of which a facsimile specimen is prefixed to this volume. It is supposed to represent the oldest form of the Syriac text, but the examination of it is not yet completed.

(3) Egyptian. There are three versions to which this name may be applied—(1) Memphitic, the version of Lower Egypt, of which Memphis was the capital (sometimes erroneously called Coptic, which is a designation common to all); (2) Thebaic or Sahidic, of Upper Egypt, Thebes being the capital; and (3) Bashmuric, a rude adaptation of the Thebaic for the huntsmen in the Delta of the Nile. The two former date as early as the second century, although perhaps not completed till the third; and contain all the books of the New Testament—the Apocalypse, however, being kept apart in an appendix. The MSS. of the Thebaic are ancient, but few and fragmentary; those of the Memphitic are numerous, but mostly as late as the twelfth century. The text varies; but in the best MSS. it is wonderfully pure, being of the early Alexandrian type, and of great value for critical purposes.

(4) Gothic. This version, which is said to have been at one time the vernacular translation of a large portion of Europe, was made from the Greek by Ulfilas, bishop of the Goths, about the middle of the fourth century, “written in an alphabet he constructed for the purpose out of Greek, Latin, and Runic characters.” It is preserved in the beautiful Cod. Argenteus of Upsala, and other MSS. of the sixth century, and contains the Gospels and Pauline Epistles (without Hebrews); but it shows more departures from the true text than the Egyptian version.

(5) Æthiopic. This version, which is considered to be on the whole an excellent rendering of the original, was probably made from the Greek in the fourth or fifth century, for the use of the Abyssinian

Church. It contains the whole New Testament ; but its surviving MSS. are very late (fifteenth century), and exhibit considerable diversity.

(6) *Armenian*. The text of this version, which was made from the Greek about the middle of the fifth century, shows considerable traces of readings derived both from the Peshito and the Vulgate—the result, it is supposed, of revision in the sixth century, when the Armenian and Syrian Churches were brought into closer relations, and in the thirteenth century, when the Armenians came under the influence of the Church of Rome. It contains the whole New Testament ; but few of its MSS. are earlier than the thirteenth century.

NOTE C on Textual Criticism.

Textual Criticism is essentially of the nature of a judicial process. It is the work of the critic to collect and weigh all the evidence that can be obtained by the collation of MSS., Versions, and Patristic quotations, with the view of determining as far as possible the precise words of the original writer.

This evidence is of two kinds :—

I. *External*, being the testimony, on the passage in question, of the various extant documents.

II. *Internal*, relating to the probability attaching to various readings, having regard on the one hand to the mind of the author, and on the other to the work of the copyist or scribe.

I. *External Evidence*.—Owing to the great diversity in the age and derivation of the various documents in which the text of the New Testament is contained, it becomes necessary to form some estimate of the general character of each before dealing with its evidence in a particular case. As in a court of justice the evidence of a number of witnesses who had obtained their information at second hand from a common source would be reckoned of little or no value if the original witness could be produced, and, in any case, would have far less weight than if it had been derived from several independent sources ; so, in Textual Criticism, it is essential for a right adjudication on the various readings to ascertain as far as possible the historical relations of the different MSS., and the sources from which they were derived. Not only may their age generally be inferred with confidence from their handwriting, &c., but it is also possible, by comparing their respective testimony in certain test-passages in which they have to range themselves on one side or another, to discover traits of family likeness among them which enable us to arrange them into groups. The first to employ this method of classification was Bengel (1752), who divided

the more ancient MSS. into two groups, the African and the Asiatic. He was followed by Griesbach (1812), who made out three groups, the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Byzantine. More recently the same principle has been worked out by (among others) Lachmann, who divided MSS. into the African and the Byzantine; and by Tischendorf, who sub-divided them into Alexandrian and Latin, Asiatic and Byzantine.

This arrangement has been somewhat modified by Westcott and Hort, who distinguish the various groups as Neutral, Western, Alexandrian, and Syrian. The last named group (so called because its text can be distinctly traced in the New Testament quotations in Chrysostom and other Church Fathers trained at Antioch of Syria) corresponds to Griesbach's Byzantine, and represents the latest and most corrupt form of text. According to Westcott and Hort it was the result of successive Syrian recensions in the third and fourth centuries; but perhaps it may have been due rather to the great demand in Constantinople for fresh copies of the Scriptures, in a smooth and polished style, which was occasioned by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire in the early part of the fourth century. This Syrian or Byzantine text finds no support in the most ancient MSS., nor in any Version or Church Father before the middle of the third century; and it is characterized by what are called *conflate* readings, due to the amalgamation of readings derived from the other and older texts. Of the three remaining groups the Western is of least value for critical purposes (although supported by the Old Latin Version, and many Uncial MSS., as well as Patristic writings of the second century), because it bears evidence of great liberties having been taken with the original text, in the way of paraphrasing and interpolating, under the influence of oral tradition, before the canonical character of our New Testament books had been fully realized. Of the two others the Neutral is superior to the Alexandrian, the latter being marred by numerous trifling alterations in the supposed interests of grammar on which much attention was bestowed at Alexandria.

A great drawback in the working out of this system of genealogical grouping is found in the fact that in most MSS. there is a considerable *mixture* of texts, many MSS. having been corrected and re-corrected with the help of other exemplars than those from which they were originally copied. Hence of the Neutral there is only one pure representative extant—viz., Codex Vaticanus (B) in the Gospels, Acts, and Catholic Epistles, its Pauline Epistles exhibiting a Western text. Of the Western the purest representatives are Cod. Bezae in the Gospel and Acts (D), Cod. Claromontanus (D₂, Paul's Epistles), and Cod. Bœrnerianus (G₃, Paul's Epistles), with the addition perhaps of the African Latin Version.

To compensate for the disadvantage arising from the prevailing

mixture of texts, another means has been resorted to for ascertaining the collective value of evidence in any particular case. The several witnesses in favour of the reading in question are regarded as a separate group, and the general value of their united testimony appraised by a series of experiments in disputed passages where the true reading has been already ascertained. As the result of this mode of examination it has been found that any combination of documents in which B is found may generally be relied on, while A and B together form a combination of the highest value. The collective value of a number of MSS. thus combined is called the Internal Evidence of Groups, just as the general character of an individual MS., when similarly ascertained by continuous experiments, is reckoned among Internal Evidence of Documents.

II. With regard to Internal Evidence, properly so called, it is of two kinds—(1) *Intrinsic*, having reference to the probability or improbability attaching to a reading, in view of what is otherwise known of the mind of the author, more especially in the light of the context; and (2) *Transcriptional*, being the evidence afforded by the known habits or tendencies of the copyist. A careful examination of MSS. has brought to light certain forms of error into which copyists were more or less liable to fall; and these liabilities have to be kept in view in judging of a various reading. In the case of Uncial MSS. the risk of error was particularly great, as the whole page presented the appearance of one solid block without any separation even between different words. Transcriptional errors may be roughly distinguished as Intentional or Unintentional. Of the latter the most common are:—

(a) Mistaking of one word or syllable for another closely resembling it in sound (called *Itacism*).

(b) Repetition, by mistake, of a letter or syllable or word.

(c) Making one word into two, or two into one.

(d) Omission of a clause—frequently of a line—owing to its having a similar ending to the one before it (*Homoioteleuton*).

(e) Failure of memory in the act of transcribing a number of words just seen or heard.

(f) Unconscious assimilation of words to those of a parallel passage, or of one word to its neighbour—in its termination or otherwise.

Among Intentional changes may be reckoned:—

(a) Insertion of marginal glosses in the text.

(b) Introduction of liturgical phrases.

(c) Alteration of the text for the purpose of improving its language or doctrine.

For general guidance the following *Canons of Criticism* are found useful, when applied with discretion:—

(1) The shorter reading is to be preferred to the more verbose

(*Brevior lectio præferenda verbosiori*, Griesbach). This is owing to the tendency of copyists to insert and expand.

(2) A difficult reading is to be preferred to an easy one (*Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua*, Bengel)—owing to the tendency of copyists to simplify and smooth.

(3) A reading characteristic of the author or of the New Testament, is generally to be preferred to one of a more common or classical nature, owing to the tendency of copyists to remove solecisms or other peculiarities.

(4) In a parallel passage the more independent reading is to be preferred, owing to the tendency of copyists to assimilate in such cases.

(5) The true reading is that which will account for the origin of the other readings. This is a fundamental principle.

(In this connection the reader may be referred to Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* as well as to the kindred works already mentioned.)

CHAPTER II.

THE GOSPELS.

1. *Their Name and Nature.*

AT the head of the New Testament stand the four Gospels. This position has been fitly assigned to them, because, although by no means the earliest written of the New Testament Books, they contain a record of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ which forms the corner-stone of the whole fabric—Christianity being essentially a historical religion, basing its doctrines not on fancy but on fact. The name gospel, which is the Saxon equivalent for a word in the original meaning “good tidings,” was originally applied to Christ’s preaching and that of the apostles.¹ In course of time it came to be applied also to the books containing a record of the great facts and truths which formed the substance of that preaching. One of the earliest writers to use the word in this sense is Justin Martyr, who wrote about the middle of the second century.² He frequently refers to *Memoirs*³ composed by the apostles and their companions, which, as he tells us, were called “Gospels”; and he informs us that they were read along with the writings of the prophets at the meetings for Christian worship on the Lord’s Day.

¹ Matt. iv. 23: “And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom.” Mark i. 15: “The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel.” 1 Cor. ix. 16: “For if I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me; for woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.”

² Basilides (125 A.D.), quoted by Hippolytus, cites John i. 9 as “said in *the Gospels*,” but some think, without much reason, that the words are to be referred to one of Basilides’ school merely. Another instance has been found in the *Apology of Aristides*, dating probably from the early part of the second century (see p. 9), and in the *Didaché*, which is perhaps even earlier.

³ Ἀπομνημονεύματα.

2. *Their Authenticity.*

That the *Memoirs* to which Justin refers are the same as the Gospels which we now possess may be inferred from the circumstance that almost all the facts concerning Christ's life which he mentions in about two hundred scattered passages of his writings are found in one or other of the four Gospels, while in all the express quotations—seven in number—which he makes from the *Memoirs* the words quoted are also to be found in our Gospels. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that about twenty years later (170 A.D.) a disciple of Justin named Tatian, a well-informed and far-travelled man, drew up in the Syriac language a sort of harmony of the four Gospels (called *Diatessaron*), which had a very large circulation in the East. An Arabic translation of this work and a Syriac commentary on it have recently been discovered, from which it is evident that the four Gospels on which Tatian's work was founded were identical with ours. In the *Muratorian Fragment*, also, there is a list of New Testament books, which most critics assign to about 170 A.D., where the Gospels of Luke and John are mentioned as third and fourth, the other two being apparently mentioned in a part of the MS. now lost. If further corroboration be needed, we have it in the universally-admitted fact that fifteen years later (185 A.D.) the four Gospels which we possess were circulated in all parts of Christendom—in Europe, Asia, and Africa—in thousands of copies for the use of the innumerable Christians who heard them read at their weekly meetings for worship.

For these reasons it seems to admit of no doubt that Justin Martyr's Gospels were the same as ours; and it is easy to trace them back through a series of still earlier writers to the testimony of the apostles. We know that Marcion the Gnostic¹ (140 A.D.) built his system

¹ The *Gnostics* (who derived their name from a Greek word meaning *knowledge*) claimed a deeper insight into

the mysteries of religion than was possessed by the ordinary believer. But they always professed to be indebted

largely on the Gospel of Luke, of which he published a mutilated edition known as Marcion's Luke. In contrast with Marcion, Tertullian places Valentinus, another Gnostic (140-160 A.D.), as one who used the canon in its entirety.¹ A prominent witness is Papias (Bishop of Hierapolis), who wrote an *Exposition of the Oracles of Our Lord* about 135 A.D., when he was an old man. Among other things which he had gathered from personal intercourse with friends of the apostles and with two disciples of the Lord (one of whom was named John),² he tells us the circumstances under which Matthew wrote his *Oracles* and Mark his *Oracles of the Lord*. Still earlier, we find many quotations more or less exact from our Gospels in the lately-discovered "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (dating from the end of the first or the early part of the second century), in the language of Basilides (125 A.D.), who wrote twenty-four books on "the Gospel," and in the short extant writings of Polycarp (a disciple of the Apostle John, martyred 155 A.D.), of Hermas and "Barnabas" (early in the second century), and of Clement of Rome (close of first century).³ They are also found in all MSS. of the Syriac and Old Latin Versions—both of which are known to have existed in the second century. To this we may add that in the undisputed epistles of Paul, written within a generation after our Lord's death, there are numerous allusions to Christ's history, teaching, and example, which harmonize with the facts recorded in the four Gospels (see p. 88).⁴

In these circumstances we may challenge those who

for this knowledge to their fuller comprehension of the meaning of Scripture. Hence the frequency of their appeals to the New Testament writings. For the earliest distinct traces in the Christian Church of the tendencies which afterwards developed into Gnosticism, see pp. 94-5, 146, 148.

¹ *Integro instrumento*.

² See on PAPIAS, Appendix, p. 281.

³ The extant Christian writings of the first century (other than the New Testament) are extremely meagre, while the writings of the second century till near

its close are mainly defences of Christianity (*Apologies*) addressed to unbelievers, with fewer quotations from the New Testament than if they had been intended for members of the Church. But the substance, and even the language, of our Gospels are woven into the earliest Christian writings that have come down to us.

⁴ The genuineness of the fourth Gospel is specially dealt with in chap. vi., where additional evidence will be found, specially applicable to that Gospel.

throw doubt on the credibility of the Gospels to show at what period it was even *possible* for forgery or falsification to be perpetrated, and perpetrated so successfully as to impose upon all branches of the Church, leaving its members and teachers utterly unconscious of the deception that had been practised on them—this, too, in matters affecting the most vital interests of the Church's faith, regarding which the apostles had been testifying ever since the day of Pentecost on which they began to preach in the name of their Risen Master.

Of the estimation in which the Gospels were held we may judge from the words of Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, who, towards the close of the second century, speaks of the written Gospel as "the foundation and pillar of our faith"; and says regarding the Scriptures—which he defines to be the writings both of prophet and evangelist—"the Scriptures, being spoken by the Word and Spirit of God, are perfect."

3. *Their Origin.*

For many years, probably for more than a generation, after the death of Christ, there does not appear to have been any authorised record of His life and teaching in the Church. The charge which the apostles had received from their Master was to *preach* the Gospel, and the promise of the Spirit had been expressly connected with the bearing of *oral* testimony.¹ As they had received nothing in writing from their Master's hands, it was not likely they would see any necessity for a written Word so long as they were able to fulfil their commission to preach the Gospel, especially as they were looking for a speedy return of their Lord, and had no idea that so many centuries were to elapse before the great event should take place. The preaching of the Gospel was enough to tax their energies to the utmost; and the task of committing to writing

¹ Matt. x. 19: "But when they deliver you up, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak."

was not more alien to the customs of their nation than it would be uncongenial to their own habits as uneducated Galilæans. Hence we can readily understand how it was that the Old Testament Scriptures, to which the apostles constantly appealed for proof that Jesus was the Messiah, continued to be for many years the only inspired writings acknowledged by the Christian Church. A New Testament in our sense of the term was something which the apostles never dreamt of; and it is not to the design of man, but to the inscrutable influence of the divine Spirit and the overruling working of divine Providence, that we owe the composition of our Gospels before the apostles and other eye-witnesses of the Saviour's ministry had passed away. Drawn up without concert and without the formal sanction of the Church, they contain in a simple form, suitable for all ages and for all classes, several independent records of Christ's life and teaching, of which it may be said with truth that they are better authenticated and more nearly contemporaneous with the events than almost any other record we possess in connection with any period of ancient history. Their dignity and truthfulness are only rendered the more conspicuous when they are contrasted with the apocryphal Gospels invented at a later period, which were designed not so much to meet the spiritual wants of the Church as to gratify an idle curiosity.¹

It is a remarkable fact that two of our Gospels do not claim to have been written by apostles, but only by companions of apostles (Mark and Luke); and that of the

¹ About fifty apocryphal Gospels are known to us (besides Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses); but of many only the names or brief fragments have been preserved. They usually abounded in the strange and marvellous, more especially in connection with the infancy and childhood of our Lord; and traces of their influence may be seen in Christian art and poetry. One of the oldest and best known is the *Protevangelium* of James (dating perhaps from the middle

of the second century), which has been well described as an attempt to "embroider with legend the simpler narrative of the earlier Evangelists." Among others extant are the Gospel of Thomas, the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, and the Gospel of Nicodemus, comprising the Acts of Pilate and the Descent of Christ into Hades. Part of the Gospel of Peter (previously known to us in little more than name) has been recently discovered in Egypt. It bears

other two only one bears the name of an apostle of eminence (John). This is, so far, a confirmation of their genuineness; for if they had been forgeries claiming an authority to which they were not entitled, they would have been pretty sure to claim it in the highest form. The same circumstance shows that the apostles generally did not regard it as a duty to record their testimony in writing.

In the discharge of their commission as preachers of the Gospel, they doubtless followed the practice which was common in the East of trusting to memory rather than to written documents; and as the Church extended, and they were no longer able to minister personally to the wants of their converts or of those who required to have the Gospel preached to them, it would become their duty to train evangelists and catechists to assist them in the work. In preaching to the heathen, it would only be the leading facts of Christ's life that would require to be proclaimed, but in the instruction of those who had already accepted the message of salvation it would be necessary to go more into detail, and set Christ before them as a guide and pattern in their daily life. This instruction was doubtless given in an oral form, the scholars repeating the lesson again and again after their teachers.¹

The history of Christ's life and teaching was thus originally set forth not in the form of a chronological narrative but rather as a *series of lessons* imparted by the apostles and their fellow-labourers as occasion required, or "to meet the needs of their hearers," as one of the early Church Fathers (Papias) says, referring to Peter's style of preaching. During the twelve years or more that elapsed before the dispersion of the apostles from Jerusalem, a

traces of acquaintance with our Gospels, and has also some uncanonical matter in common with Tatian and Justin. It occasionally betrays sympathy with the Docetic heresy (*cf.* p. 261), for which (as Eusebius tells us) it was condemned by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, in the end of the second century; at the same time it is anti-Jewish. Its composition can-

not have been much earlier nor much later than 150 A.D. To support some heresy was the purpose of many of the apocryphal writings.

¹ This is the meaning of *κατηχήθης* ("instructed") in Luke i. 4 = taught by word of mouth by dint of repetition. *Cf.* Acts ii. 42: "They continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching."

recognised course of instruction had doubtless gained currency in the Church, corresponding to St. Peter's definition of the period of the life of Christ which was the proper subject for apostolic testimony — "Beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he (Jesus) was received up from us."¹ With this agree specimens of apostolic preaching contained in the Book of Acts,² as well as the allusions which the apostles make in their epistles to the Gospel preached by them and the knowledge of Christ's life acquired by their converts.³ A close examination of such passages makes it evident that, while Christ Jesus

¹ Acts i. 22.

² Acts x. 36-43 (Peter's Address at Cæsarea): "The word which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all)—that saying ye yourselves know, which was published throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; even Jesus of Nazareth, how that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the country of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom also they slew, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised up the third day, and gave him to be made manifest, not to all the people, but unto witnesses that were chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. And he charged us to preach unto the people, and to testify that this is he which is ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead. To him bear all the prophets witness, that through his name every one that believeth on him shall receive remission of sins"; xiii. 23-31 (Paul at Antioch): "Of this man's seed hath God according to promise brought unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus; when John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John was fulfilling his course, he said, What suppose ye that I am? I am not he. But behold, there cometh one after me, the shoes of whose feet I am not worthy to unloose. Brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and those among you that fear

God, to us is the word of this salvation sent forth. For they that dwell in Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath, fulfilled them by condemning him. And though they found no cause of death in him, yet asked they of Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had fulfilled all things that were written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb. But God raised him from the dead: and he was seen for many days of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses unto the people"; cf. iv. 19, 20: "But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye: *for we cannot but speak the things which we saw and heard.*"

³ 1 Cor. ii. 2: "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." 1 Cor. xv. 1-4: "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, wherein also ye stand, by which also ye are saved; I make known, I say, in what words I preached it unto you, if ye hold it fast, except ye believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures." 1 Cor. xi. 23-27: "For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had

was the constant theme of the apostles' preaching, they dwelt chiefly on the great facts that formed the consummation of His ministry — His sufferings, death, and resurrection; and we may regard it as an evidence of the faithfulness with which our Gospels reflect the earliest preaching and teaching of the apostles that they give such prominence to the closing scenes of our Lord's history. We have another token of their authenticity in the fact that they narrate events not in the light shed upon them by the subsequent teaching of the Spirit, but as they were actually regarded by the disciples at the time of their occurrence, long before the publication of the Gospels.

It would seem that before our Gospels were composed, attempts had been made by private persons to draw up a connected history of the Saviour's life, or at least of His ministry. Such attempts are referred to by St. Luke in the preface to his Gospel.¹ It is evident that he is alluding to other documents than the Gospels we possess, both because he speaks of the writers as "many," in a tone scarcely consistent with the respect due to apostolic records,

given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as, ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord." Gal. iii. 1: "... Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified?" Eph. iv. 20, 21: "But ye did not so learn Christ; if so be that ye heard him, and were taught in him, even as truth is in Jesus." 1 Peter i. 18-21: "knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ: who was foreknown indeed before the foundation of the

world, but was manifested at the end of the times for your sake, who through him are believers in God, which raised him from the dead, and gave him glory; so that your faith and hope might be in God," 1 John iv. 2, 6: "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: ... We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us; he who is not of God heareth us not. By this we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error," &c.

¹ Luke i. 1-4: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

and because a comparison of the four Gospels leads to the conclusion that he could not have had any of the three others before him when he drew up his narrative. Whatever part the previously-existing documents referred to by Luke may have had in determining the shape in which the oral Gospel was finally to be recorded, all of them were ultimately superseded by our present Gospels, in whose preservation and triumph we may see an illustration, in the highest sense, of "the survival of the fittest."

4. *Their Diversity.*

On a comparison of the several Gospels, a marked difference is at once apparent between the fourth and the three preceding ones. The latter are called *synoptical*, because they give in one common view the same general outline of the ministry of Christ. This outline is almost entirely confined to His ministry in Galilee, and includes only one visit to Jerusalem; whereas the fourth Gospel gives an account of no less than five visits to the capital, and lays the scene of the ministry chiefly in Judæa. A still more important distinction between them, with regard to the nature of their contents, has been briefly expressed by designating the synoptical Gospels as the *bodily* Gospels, and St. John's as the *spiritual* Gospel—by which it is meant that the former relate chiefly to outward events connected with the Saviour's visible presence, reported for the most part without note or comment, while the latter is designed to represent the ideal and heavenly side of His personality and work. Akin to this distinction is the fact that the first three Gospels report Christ's addresses to *the multitude*, consisting largely of *parables*, while the fourth Gospel contains discourses of a more sublime character, frequently expressed in the language of *allegory* and addressed to *the inner circle* of His followers.

When we enter into a closer examination of the three synoptic Gospels and compare them with one another,

we find an amount of similarity in detail, extending even to minute expressions and the connection of individual incidents, combined with a diversity of diction, arrangement, and contents, which it has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of critics to explain fully.¹ A general idea of their mutual relations may be gathered from the following comparison. If the contents of each Gospel be reckoned 100, the relative proportion of those things in which a Gospel agrees with one or other of its fellows to those things in which it stands alone would be as follows:—

	Peculiarities.	Coincidences.
St. Matthew	42	58
St. Mark	7	93
St. Luke	59	41

It is found that the coincidences in *language* are much fewer than they are in *substance*—which is only what might have been expected, if the several accounts are derived from independent witnesses. Reckoning the material coincidences in St. Matthew to be 58 as above, the verbal coincidences would only amount to 16 or 17; in St. Mark the former would be 93 as compared with 17 of the latter; in St. Luke 41 as compared with 10. It further appears that by far the greater number of these verbal coincidences are met with *in the report of our Lord's discourses and other sayings*, a circumstance which confirms us in the belief that the Gospel was handed down for a number of years in an oral form, as the preachers and

¹ Numberless theories have been advanced since the time of Augustine, who argued that Mark was the *pedisequus et abbreviator* ("follower and abbreviator") of Matthew, down to the present time, when critical opinion is taking the form, not so much of a theory of direct mutual dependence of the synoptics upon one another, as of their dependence on some pre-existing document or documents, or on a stereotyped oral Gospel. The former of these two solutions, adopted by J. D. Michaelis in the beginning of last century, and connected by Lessing

(1778), with the idea of an Aramaic original (which might be identical with the Gospel according to the Hebrews), has led many critics to entertain the idea of a double Greek source, designated as the Ur-Marcus and the Ur-Matthäus (the latter being perhaps the Logia mentioned by Papias), although there is a difference of opinion as to which of the two had the priority. The Oral-Gospel theory, which was advocated by Gieseler early in this century, and has recently been more fully expounded by Westcott, has also a wide circle of adherents.

teachers would feel bound to adhere strictly to the very words in cases of reported speech, whereas they would be under no such obligation in the narration of events. As regards the latter a considerable modification of the oral Gospel would naturally take place during the long period that elapsed before it was committed to writing. The modification would vary in different parts of the Church; and it is in this way, as well as by taking into account the possibilities of fresh lessons being added from time to time by those who had been "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word"¹ that we can best account for differences, both in expression and in substance, which would otherwise seem unaccountable. If the apostles' teaching was originally given in Aramaic—the form of Hebrew then spoken in Palestine—and had to be translated into Greek by the catechists, this would help still further to account for the diversity we meet with in the Gospels.²

5. *Their Harmony.*

It is possible that further study and investigation may shed more light on the historical and literary relations of the four Gospels, but meantime it is clear that *the true way*

¹ Luke i. 2.

² An interesting contribution to the settlement of this question has recently been made by Prof. J. T. Marshall. On the supposition of an original Aramaic Gospel (perhaps the Logia of St. Matthew) he finds that a great many of the verbal differences between the synoptics, in parallel passages, may be accounted for by reference to the Aramaic word from which they have emanated. For example the word *ὀφειλήματα* in Matt. vi. 12 ("Forgive us our *debts*") and *ἁμαρτίας* in Luke xi. 4 ("Forgive us our *sins*") may be divergent interpretations of the Aramaic word *חוב* which means (1) a *debt*, (2) a *sin* or trespass; or, again, the word *ἀπολέσαι* in Matt. x. 28 ("But rather fear him which is able to *destroy* both soul and body in Gehenna") and *ἐμβαλεῖν* in Luke xii. 5 ("hath power to *cast* into Gehenna") may

both be accounted for by the Aramaic word *שנר* which means (1) to "throw, cast," (2) to "burn, consume." These and similar instances do not require the assumption of a *written* Aramaic Gospel; but Prof. Marshall finds that "the great majority of the Greek variants" in the synoptics can only be accounted for by corruptions that had crept into an original Aramaic text, in one or other of the four following ways:—(1) "the diverse vocalisation of the same consonants, (2) the misreading of a letter, (3) the omission of a letter, (4) the transposition of two adjacent consonants." Referring, by way of analogy, to the Hebrew texts of certain parts of the Old Testament, Professor Marshall says: "These kinds of divergences are always present, and what is more, there is a tolerably constant ratio in the frequency with which they respectively occur. This

to discern their harmony is not to attempt to piece them together in the vain hope of forming a complete chronological history, but to study each from its own point of view and learn from it what it has to teach concerning the many-sided life and character of Jesus Christ. No one Gospel could possibly do justice to the infinite significance of the great theme ; and instead of causing perplexity, the existence of four different Gospels should rather be matter of thankfulness, as setting Christ before us in *so many different aspects* of His divinely human personality, much in the same way as various portions of the Old Testament set Him forth prophetically under the several aspects of prophet, priest, lawgiver, and king.

From the nature of the case, the Gospels are necessarily *fragmentary*, as indicated by St. John when he says, "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written."¹ The same writer gives us a key to the interpretation of his Gospel when he says, "These are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that, believing, ye may have life in his name."² In like manner each of the other Gospels, while historical in its character, is animated by a special purpose of its own with its *appropriate grouping and selection of events*. Owing to the frequent change of scene and audience in Christ's ministry, the historical sequence could not be strictly adhered to by anyone desirous to trace, from any point of view, the progress of His teaching. At the same time there was a gradual development in Christ's ministry, culminating in His death, resurrection, and ascension ; and this gradual advance we find reflected in each of the four Gospels.

same ratio, we may add, is discernible in the *kinds* of variation we claim to have found in the Aramaic." It has, however, been objected to Prof. Marshall's theory that in his attempts to reproduce the words of the original text he does not confine himself to the

Aramaic of any one period or literature, and resorts to linguistic suppositions which are open to question. Moreover, it is at best but a partial solution of the synoptical problem.

¹ John xxi. 25.

² John xx. 31.

Unity amid diversity is what we have to look for in the Gospels, as in the Scriptures generally; and of this we have a token in the time-honoured fancy of the Church, by which the four Gospels are likened to the four-visaged cherubim, having the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. This comparison has been variously applied, but the interpretation followed in modern works of art, after St. Jerome, identifies the four faces with the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John respectively, as setting forth the human, the conquering, the sacrificial, and the heaven-regarding aspects of Christ's being. We shall probably be nearer the truth, however, if we say that while the first Gospel sets forth Christ's life and teaching with reference to the *past*, as the fulfilment of the Old Testament, the Gospel of Mark exhibits that life in the *present*, as a manifestation of the activity and power so congenial to the Roman mind; St. Luke, as a Greek, depicts it in its catholic and comprehensive character, as destined in the *future* to embrace within its saving influence all the kindreds of the Gentiles; while the fourth Gospel represents it in its absolute perfection as it is related to the Father in *eternity*.¹

While there is no such thing as uniformity in Scripture any more than in Nature or the Church, there is an essential and deep-lying unity which cannot be broken without serious injury to the truth. The right way to use the Gospels is to combine their various testimony, allowing each to tell its story in its own way, and to contribute its

¹ Recently an ingenious and laborious attempt has been made by the Rev. J. J. Halcombe to reverse the traditional view of the relations between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel. According to Mr. Halcombe's theory, St. John wrote his Gospel very soon after the Ascension, as "the original and foundation title-deed of the Church and the Christian faith"; St. Matthew's was written after an interval of some six or eight years, or even longer, as a supplemental and companion volume, and was followed almost immediately by St. Mark's as "an explanatory supplement to St. Matthew's record"; while St. Luke's was written much later, in order

to meet "a widely prevailing desire to combine the three authorised histories into a single composite whole"—a task which had been attempted by the "many" to whom St. Luke refers in his preface, and which we can see to have been successfully accomplished by that Evangelist himself, if we assume that Luke xi. 14—xiii. 21 was accidentally transposed in the original MS., and that its proper place is immediately after viii. 21.

Mr Halcombe claims for this arrangement of the Four Gospels that it is as superior in point of intelligibility to that which puts St. John's Gospel last (*cf.* p. 72), as WORD is to ORDW!

allotted part to a full and adequate conception of the Lord's personality and work. While each possesses a distinct individuality of its own, they may and ought to be united in order to form a complete and grander whole. In this sense they have been likened to the four parts of music, which may be sung apart, but blend together to form a perfect harmony. A striking parallel has been drawn between the work of the first three evangelists and the threefold portrait of Charles I. (taken from three different points of view) which Vandyke prepared for the sculptor;¹ while a beautiful illustration has been furnished by an eloquent writer,² who says that "the first three evangelists give us diverse aspects of one glorious landscape; St. John pours over that landscape a flood of heavenly sunshine which seems to transform its very character, though every feature of the landscape remains the same."³

¹ Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 251.

² Farrar's *Messages of the Books*, p. 11.

³ With regard to the harmony of the four Gospels in matters of historical detail, while it is true that we meet with apparent discrepancies which it would require more complete information than we possess to explain fully (for example, as to the date of the Last Supper,

whether on the night of the Jewish Passover, as the synoptical Gospels would lead us to suppose, or on the night previous, which is the impression we receive from St. John's narrative), yet, on the other hand, there are many cases of undesigned harmony which afford positive evidence of their historical accuracy and truthfulness. (See Appendix, p. 287.)

CHAPTER III.

"THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW."

1. *Authorship.*

ST. MATTHEW'S Gospel has been described by one who can scarcely be accused of partiality (M. Renan) as "the most important book of Christendom—the most important book that has ever been written." Its importance is derived, not from the genius of the writer, but from the grandeur of the subject. According to the unanimous tradition of the ancient Church, as preserved in the title which this Gospel has borne ever since the second century and confirmed by the testimony of the early Church Fathers beginning with Papias in the first half of the second century, the writer of the book was Matthew, one of the twelve apostles. But for his authorship of this book, Matthew would have been one of the least-known of the apostles, as neither Scripture nor tradition gives us much information regarding him. Not a single word or act of his after he became a disciple of our Lord is recorded in the Gospels; and in the Book of Acts his name is never mentioned after the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. He is evidently to be identified with Levi the publican,¹

¹ ix. 9, 10: "And as Jesus passed by from thence, he saw a man, called Matthew, sitting at the place of toll: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat in the house, behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with Jesus and his disciples." Mark ii. 14, 15: "And as he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting at the place of toll, and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, that he was sitting at meat in

his house, and many publicans and sinners sat down with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many, and they followed him." Luke v. 27-29: "And after these things he went forth, and beheld a publican, named Levi, sitting at the place of toll, and said unto him, Follow me. And he forsook all, and rose up and followed him. And Levi made him a great feast in his house: and there was a great multitude of publicans and of others that were sitting at meat with them."

although it is only in his own Gospel¹ that the despised term "publican" is associated with his apostolic name of Matthew ("the gift of God"), which was probably given to him when he was called to the apostleship, as Simon's name was changed to Peter. He seems to have been a man of worldly means and of a generous disposition, judging from the fact that on the occasion of his apostolic call, when "he forsook all, and rose up and followed" Jesus, he made "a great feast" to which he invited a number of his old associates. It is noteworthy that he leaves it to the other evangelists to mention him as the giver of this feast, and to record his sacrifice of property in following Christ; while we have a further token of his modesty in the fact that he puts the name of Thomas before his own in the list of apostles, reversing the order followed in the other Gospels.² Traces of the writer's profession as a tax-gatherer have been found in his use of the term "tribute money," where the other evangelists employ the more common word "penny";³ and in his use of the word "publicans," where Luke employs the word "sinners."⁴ But perhaps the latter instance, like his use of the word "Gentiles" in the same passage, is an indication rather of his Jewish nationality.

According to an ancient tradition derived from Papias, Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew,⁵—to which Irenæus adds that he published it among the Jews "while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the

¹ x. 3: "Thomas, and Matthew the publican."

² x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15.

³ xxii. 19: "Shew me the tribute money." Mark xii. 15: "Bring me a penny, that I may see it." Luke xx. 24: "Shew me a penny."

⁴ v. 46, 47: "For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the Gentiles the same?" Luke vi. 32-34: "And if ye love them that love you, what thank have ye? for even sinners love those that love them," &c.

⁵ Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος. This statement of Papias that "each one interpreted them (*i.e.*, oracles) as he could" seems to imply that the case was different when he wrote, there being then an authoritative translation in general use. As a matter of fact, we find no traces of any other Greek version of St. Matthew, at any time, to compete with the Gospel bearing his name, which is found in the New Testament canon. This is a very important fact in any question affecting the authority of our first Gospel.

Church there." Eusebius, in the beginning of the fourth century, tells us that Matthew wrote it when he was about to leave the Jews and preach also to other nations, in order to "fill up the void about to be made in his absence."¹ If this tradition be correct, the Hebrew original must have been very soon superseded by the Greek Gospel which we now possess. This was only to be expected, considering the growing disuse of Hebrew, and the gradual lapse of the Jewish Christians into a heresy which alienated them from the rest of the Church.² Whether the Gospel was written over again by Matthew in Greek, or translated, perhaps under his supervision, by some other writer, with additions from a Greek source, is a question which we cannot certainly answer.³ That Matthew may have written

¹ Eusebius mentions a tradition that when Pantenus of Alexandria (who lived in the latter part of the second century) went to preach to the Indians, he found the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew already in their possession, they having received it from the Apostle Bartholomew when he preached among them. But the story is unsupported by any other evidence, and is not in itself probable, as Greek would be more likely to be known to the Indians than Hebrew. Jerome, in the end of the fourth century, informs us that he found a Hebrew Gospel, which he believed to be the original of Matthew, in the library at Cæsarea, and that he transcribed it and afterwards translated it into Greek. He gives extracts from it, but they are not such as to enable us to identify it with our first Gospel. The same may be said of the quotations from an Ebionite Gospel which are found in the writings of Epiphanius. This writer mentions another Gospel in Hebrew in use among the Nazarenes, who flourished, as he tells us, at Syrian Berœa (Aleppo),—the same place where Jerome had received permission to copy the Hebrew Gospel already mentioned. (For a full discussion of the subject see Salmon's Introduction, chap. x).

² The *Ebionite* heresy, so named from a Hebrew word meaning *poor*, the early Jewish Christians being noted for their poverty. Their heresy consisted for the most part in holding the continued obligation of the Jewish Law, and denying

the Divinity of the Saviour while admitting His Messiahship. The name of *Nazarenes* (originally given to Christians generally; Acts xxiv. 5) was applied in the fourth century to a less heretical sect who continued to observe the Jewish Law.

³ It is now very generally admitted that in our Gospel of Matthew there are features inconsistent with the character of a translation from the Hebrew. These are (*a*) plays on Greek words (vi. 16; xxi. 41; xxiv. 30); (*b*) explanations of Hebrew words (i. 23; xxvii. 33, 46); (*c*) statements regarding Jewish customs, &c., that could not have been intended for Jewish readers contemporary with the apostle (xxii. 23; xxvii. 15; xxviii. 15). We can imagine (*a*) and (*b*) to have possibly been introduced by a translator, but (*c*) can scarcely be thus accounted for. (*d*) In a number of passages common to this Gospel with the other synoptics, it is evident that the author has drawn directly from a Greek source whether oral or written. It has also been noticed that while the greater part of the quotations in this Gospel are from the Septuagint (occurring chiefly in passages common to the synoptics), a considerable number are taken direct from the Hebrew. In this fact Westcott finds a strong confirmation of his theory that our Gospel of Matthew is the work of an unknown author who worked up the Hebrew or Aramaic record of St Matthew with the oral Greek Gospel.

the Gospel in both languages is in itself not unlikely, as we know that Josephus wrote his history both in Hebrew and in Greek¹—these two languages being current in Palestine at that time, as English and Gaelic are now in the Highlands of Scotland. But it must be admitted to be a weak point in this theory that there is no trace of it in the writings of the Fathers.

2. *Date of Composition.*

From evidence afforded by a study of the book itself (taken in connection with the tradition above mentioned), it has been reasonably inferred that the Gospel in its present form probably appeared before 66 A.D., when the war which was to issue in the destruction of the Jewish capital was on the eve of breaking out. Such evidence is found in the use of the expressions² “holy city,” “the holy place,” “the city of the great King,” as well as in the mysterious nature of the language used by the Saviour in His prediction of the city’s coming doom. In particular, the caution given by the writer in xxiv. 15 (“whoso readeth, let him understand,”) would have had no force or meaning after the predicted calamity had occurred.

3. *Character and Contents.*

The leading characteristic of St. Matthew’s Gospel, as might be expected in a work intended for the Hebrews, consists in the representation of Jesus as *the Messiah*, in whom was fulfilled the Law and the Prophets. In this respect it is fitly placed immediately after the Old Testament, as the uniting link between the old and the new covenants.

The first verse strikes the keynote, “The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham”—son of David as *the heir of the promised*

¹ Modern instances may also be found; e.g., Bacon published a Latin translation of his “Advancement of Learning,” in

an extended form, under the title “De Augmentis Scientiarum.”

² iv. 5; v. 35; xxiv. 15; xxvii. 53.

kingdom, son of Abraham as the child of promise *in whom all the families of the earth were to be blessed*. The whole book may be regarded as depicting the gradual realisation of these claims in a spiritual sense; the culminating point being reached in the glorious declaration by the risen Lord, "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."¹ In the course of the Gospel there are no less than sixty citations of Old Testament prophecy as fulfilled in Jesus, the usual formula of quotation being "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by (the prophet)." Equally significant is the frequency of the expression "kingdom of heaven" (literally "kingdom of the heavens," reflecting the Hebrew idiom), which occurs thirty-two times, and the designation "Son of David," which occurs seven times as applied to Jesus.

The whole plan of the book is in harmony with its Messianic character. First we have the nativity of Him who was "born King of the Jews" and was, at the same time, to "save his people from their sins," with the strange mingling of light and shadow, of glory and suffering, which was to be typical of the whole life.² Then comes the Prelude to the Ministry, when the approach of the kingdom of heaven is announced by the predicted Forerunner, and the Baptism of Jesus, as the fulfilment of all righteousness and the consecration to His public ministry, becomes the signal for a manifestation of the divine favour in the voice from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,"—followed by the Temptation, in which the decisive choice is made between the "kingdoms of this world" and the unseen kingdom of the Spirit.³ The way is thus cleared for successive representations of the Saviour

¹ xxviii. 18-20.² i., ii.³ iii.—iv. 11.

as Lawgiver, Prophet, and King. In the Sermon on the Mount,¹ the Charter of the new kingdom, He proclaims the Law as from a second Sinai with new meaning and power, —a little later He charges the twelve apostles, whom He commissions to preach the Gospel in His name,²—at another time He delivers the long series of parables in which the origin, progress, and final destiny of the kingdom are shown forth,³—anon He lays down the principles that are to guide the members of the Church in their relations to one another, especially to their erring brethren.⁴ Then as the conflict with hatred and unbelief grows ever fiercer, there break forth His prophetic warnings of the nation's impending doom and His denunciations against the Jewish priests and rulers, while He becomes more and more outspoken in the assertion of His Messianic claims;⁵ till at last there comes the awful tragedy upon the Cross, completing the sacrifice He has to offer as God's High Priest, and giving place in turn to the triumph of the Resurrection.⁶ Interspersed throughout the whole are mighty works and gracious words, spoken and wrought for the suffering and the sinful, which bespeak Him as the Sent of God.

There is a wonderful symmetry in the whole narrative, and many subtle contrasts. In xvi. 21, "From that time began Jesus to shew unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem and suffer . . . and be killed," there is a striking contrast to iv. 17, "From that time began Jesus to preach, and to say, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"—the one marking the commencement of His Passion, as the other of His active Ministry. There is a correspondence also between the voice from heaven at His Baptism,⁷ and that heard at His Transfiguration⁸ when His ministry reached its climax and was sealed by the divine testimony in the presence of the two greatest prophets of

¹ v.—vii.

² x.

³ xiii. (seven in number—like the Beatitudes in chap. v.—viz., the Sower, the Tares, the Mustard-seed, the Leaven, the hid Treasure, the goodly Pearl, and the Draw-net).

⁴ xviii.

⁵ xxi.—xxv.

⁶ xxvi.—xxviii.

⁷ iii. 17: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

⁸ xvii. 5: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him."

the old covenant, Moses and Elias, as it had just before been attested by the great confession of Peter.¹ That confession was a token that the ministry of power and love had done its work upon the hearts of the disciples, and it is fitly followed by the announcement of His appointed sufferings, the disciples being now ready to follow their Master through the valley of His humiliation, which was to conduct them at last from the blackness and darkness of death to the glories of divine life and immortality.

A distinguishing feature of this Gospel is the large place assigned in it to the *words*² of Jesus, arranged in a *systematic* form, not broken up into fragments as they are in the other Gospels. For this reason Godet compares Luke to "a botanist who prefers to contemplate a flower in the very place of its birth and in the midst of its natural surroundings, while Matthew is like the gardener who for some special object puts together large and magnificent bouquets."³ To some extent this remark is applicable to Matthew's grouping of incidents in our Lord's life, as well as to his arrangement of discourses.

¹ xvi. 16: "And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

² Forming about a fourth part of the whole book.

³ Godet traces five such general discourses in Matthew's Gospel, viz., the Sermon on the Mount (v.-vii.), the official instructions to the twelve apostles (x.), the series of parables on the kingdom of heaven (xiii.), principles of Church discipline (xviii.), and utterances relating to Christ's exercise of judgment (xxiii.-xxv.)—all of them closing with similar words (vii. 28; xi.

1; xiii. 53; xix. 1; xxvi. 1). These five discourses he regards as forming the Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel, and finds in their number a correspondence with the five books of Papias on the Lord's Discourses. But it is now generally admitted that the Lord's *Oracles* is a more correct rendering of the title of Papias' work (*κυριακῶν λόγιων*); and, besides, the structure of the Gospel is too subtle and complex to admit of such mechanical treatment. (Godet's *Biblical Studies*—English Translation, 8th edition, pp. 15-20.)

CHAPTER IV.

"THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK."

1. *Authorship.*

THE testimony of the early Fathers, so far as it has reached us, unanimously ascribes the second Gospel to St. Mark; but with equal unanimity they connect it with the preaching of the Apostle Peter. The earliest witness is Papias, the bishop already referred to, who makes the following statement on the authority of John, a contemporary of the apostles, if not the apostle of that name: "This also the elder used to say: Mark having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately whatever things he remembered that were either said or done by Christ; but not in order. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but subsequently, as I said, attached himself to Peter, who used to frame his teaching to meet the wants of his hearers, but not as making a connected narrative of the Lord's oracles (or discourses). So Mark committed no error in thus writing down particulars just as he remembered them; for he took heed to one thing, to omit none of the things that he had heard, and to state nothing falsely in his account of them."¹

So little doubt seems to have been entertained regarding the Petrine authorship of this Gospel that we find

¹ Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε. Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας

ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων (οἱ λόγων) ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπομνημόνευσεν. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. Eus. H. E. iii. 40.

Justin Martyr apparently referring to it as the Memoirs of Peter.¹ According to Irenæus, it was written by Mark at Rome after the death of Peter and Paul; while Clement of Alexandria, writing about the same time, affirms, on the tradition of a long line of presbyters, that St. Mark wrote at the request of Peter's hearers at Rome, without any interference on the part of Peter himself.

Regarding the history of the Mark thus referred to, and his relations with the Apostle Peter, we derive information from Scripture which is fitted to corroborate in a great measure the ancient tradition. There can be no doubt that we are to identify him with the John Mark mentioned in Acts xii. 12, whose mother Mary was an influential member of the Church at Jerusalem—her house being the place where prayer was made for Peter by the brethren during his imprisonment, and where he himself repaired immediately after his liberation. It is an interesting conjecture that this house may have been the scene of the Last Supper and of the Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit. It has also been suggested that the "young man" referred to in Mark's Gospel, in connection with the arrest in the garden, may have been none other than the author of the book, who was thus led to record an incident which to others would have appeared insignificant.² Mark's intimacy with Peter at a later time is evident from 1 Peter v. 13,³ where the apostle conveys Mark's salutation to his readers in Asia Minor; and from the designation which Peter there applies to him ("my son"), we may infer that he was one of that apostle's converts. It appears that at the time the epistle was written he was residing with Peter in Babylon, but although the Eastern city of that name was then, and continued to be for long

¹ Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο. Dial. c. 106. The above is the natural rendering of the words, according to *Justin's usage*; but some take αὐτοῦ to refer to Christ.

² xiv. 51: "And a certain young man followed with him, having a linen cloth cast about him, over his naked body: and they lay hold on him; but he left the linen cloth, and fled naked."

³ 1 Peter v. 13: "She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son."

afterwards, a famous seat of Jewish learning, there is reason to believe that in the passage referred to Babylon is only another name for Rome (Chap. xxi. § 3). Previous to his association with Peter in apostolic work abroad, Mark had accompanied Paul and Barnabas as their "minister" or assistant, but had withdrawn from the work.¹ After some years, he rejoined his cousin Barnabas, whose willingness to receive him again as a colleague was so displeasing to Paul that he parted company with Barnabas on this account.² We find him again enjoying Paul's confidence, however, during the imprisonment of the latter at Rome; for the apostle commends him to the Colossians as one of his "fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God," who had been a "comfort" to him.³ Mark was then, apparently, about to set out for Asia; and, accordingly, we find Paul, during his second imprisonment, requesting Timothy to bring him with him (from Ephesus), because he was "useful to him for ministering."⁴ This is the last time we hear of Mark in Scripture; but according to tradition he returned to Rome, and, after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, went to Alexandria, where he founded a famous catechetical school, and died a martyr's death.⁵

Turning now to internal evidence, we find strong confirmation of the traditional account. The book may be described as very much an expansion or development of the brief statement made by Peter in his address to Cornelius and his friends.⁶ It also follows closely the line

¹ Acts xii. 25: "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem (*i.e.*, to Antioch), when they had fulfilled their ministration, taking with them John whose surname was Mark." xiii. 5, 13: "And when they were at Salamis, they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they had also John as their attendant. . . . Now Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, and came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem."

² Acts xv. 37-40: "And Barnabas was minded to take with them John also, who was called Mark. But Paul thought not good to take with them

him who withdrew from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And there arose a sharp contention, so that they parted asunder one from the other, and Barnabas took Mark with him, and sailed away unto Cyprus; but Paul chose Silas, and went forth, being commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord."

³ Col. iv. 10, 11; Philemon ver. 24.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

⁵ In the 9th century St. Mark's body is said to have been transferred from Alexandria to Venice, where he has been honoured as patron-saint ever since.

⁶ Acts x. 37-42: "That saying ye

of apostolic testimony which Peter had himself marked out immediately after the Ascension.¹ The whole tone of the book reflects Peter's energetic, impulsive, unconventional character. Its *rapid transition* from one incident to another—of which we have a striking illustration in the fact that the Greek word² variously translated "straightway," "immediately," "forthwith," &c., occurs in it no less than forty-one times; its *practical matter-of-fact tone*, illustrated by the fact that while it records eighteen miracles it contains only four parables,³ and twice represents the Lord and His disciples as having their hands so full of work that "they could not so much as eat bread"⁴; its *vivid description of the excitement* occasioned by Christ's ministry, and of the profound impression made on those who heard and saw Him, which would be a subject congenial to Peter's enthusiastic nature⁵; its *omission* of some things redounding

yourselves know, which was published throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; even Jesus of Nazareth, how that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the country of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom also they slew, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised up the third day, and gave him to be made manifest, not to all the people, but unto witnesses that were chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. And he charged us to preach unto the people, and to testify that this is he which is ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead."

¹ Acts i. 21, 22: "Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection."

² *Εὐθέως* or *εὐθὺς*. The word occurs only eighteen times in Matthew, and eight times in Luke.

³ Viz., the Sower, the Mustard seed, the wicked Husbandman, and the Seed

growing secretly,—the last being peculiar to this Gospel. It is "the kingdom of God" they refer to—an expression that is characteristic of Mark and Luke, as distinguished from "the kingdom of heaven," which is the usual form in Matthew's Gospel.

⁴ Mark iii. 20: "And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread." vi. 31: "For there were many coming and going, and they had no leisure so much as to eat." In i. 21-39 we have a fuller account of a single day in our Lord's ministry than is to be found in any other Gospel—if we except the history of the Passion week. It describes also His retirement for prayer; and thus contains a picture in miniature of the whole life, which is represented in this Gospel as an alternation of rest and toil, of prayer and conflict.

⁵ e.g., i. 27: "And they were all amazed, inasmuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What is this? a new teaching! with authority he commandeth even the unclean spirits, and they obey him." i. 33: "And all the city was gathered together at the door." ii. 2: "And many were gathered together, so that there was no longer room for them, no, not even about the door: and he spake the word unto them." ii. 12: "They were all amazed, and glorified God, saying, We never saw it on

to Peter's credit, *e.g.* his designation as the rock on which the Church was to be built,¹ and the *insertion* of other things fitted to humble him, such as the rebuke he received when he would have dissuaded Jesus from submitting to his appointed sufferings,² and the warning he received by the *first* crowing of the cock,³ as well as the *introduction of details* which would be likely to dwell in Peter's memory⁴—all these things lend a high degree of probability to the traditional account of Peter's connection with this Gospel. As regards that part of the tradition which represents the Gospel as having been written at Rome for the Christians there, we find confirmation of it in the *connection of Mark with Rome* already referred to, and in his *Roman name* "*Marcus*," which gradually superseded the Hebrew "*John*"; in the *absence of the Hebrew*

this fashion." vi. 33: "And the people saw them going, and many knew them, and they ran there together on foot from all the cities, and outwent them." vi. 54-56: "And when they were come out of the boat (into Gennesaret), straightway the people knew him, and ran round about that whole region, and began to carry about on their beds those that were sick, where they heard he was. And whosoever he entered, into villages, or into cities, or into the country, they laid the sick in the market-places, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole."

¹ viii. 29, 30, *cf.* Matt. xvi. 16-19.

² viii. 33: "But he turning about, and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and saith, Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men."

³ xiv. 68-72: "But he denied, saying, I neither know, nor understand what thou sayest: and he went out into the porch; and the cock crew. And the maid saw him, and began again to say to them that stood by, This is one of them. But he again denied it. And after a little while again they that stood by said to Peter, Of a truth thou art one of them; for thou art a Galilean. But he began to curse, and to swear, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And straight-

way the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word, how that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept." *Cf.* Matt. xxvi. 69-75: "... And Peter remembered the word which Jesus had said, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly."

⁴ i. 36, 37: "And Simon and they that were with him followed after him; and they found him, and say unto him, All are seeking thee"; *cf.* Luke iv. 42: "And when it was day, he came out and went into a desert place: and the multitudes sought after him, and came unto him, and would have stayed him, that he should not go from them." xi. 21: "And Peter calling to remembrance saith unto him, Rabbi, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is withered away"; *cf.* Matt. xxi. 20: "And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How did the fig tree immediately wither away?" xvi. 7: "But go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee." i. 29: "They came into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John"; *cf.* Matt. viii. 14: "And when Jesus was come into Peter's house," and Luke iv. 38: "And he rose up from the synagogue and entered into the house of Simon."

genealogy of our Lord ; in the *explanation of Jewish words* e.g. Boanerges ("which is Sons of Thunder"), Talitha cumi ("which is being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, Arise"), Corban ("that is to say, Given"), Ephphatha ("that is, Be opened"), Abba ("Father"),¹ and of *Jewish customs*, e.g. the washing of hands and Passover observances ;² in the frequent use of *Latin words and idioms*,³—and very specially in the mention of *Alexander and Rufus*,⁴ if the latter be, as seems very probable, the same person as is referred to by St Paul in his Epistle to the Romans.⁵

2. Date of Composition.

With regard to the date of the Gospel we may conclude in the light of what has been already mentioned that it was written between 64 A.D. and 68 A.D.—the latter being the year of Nero's death, in whose reign Peter and Paul are believed to have suffered martyrdom. It contains, like the first Gospel, a prophecy of the Destruction of Jerusalem, in a form which implies that the great event had not yet taken place. See especially the parenthetical expression in xiii. 14 ("let him that readeth understand"). If we accept the suggestion above-mentioned, that it is the same Rufus that is named in xv. 21 and in Rom. xvi. 13, this also is so far a confirmation of its apostolic date. The "rudeness" of its Greek and its comparative inattention to doctrinal interests are acknowledged signs of its primitive character.

¹ iii. 17 ; v. 41 ; vii. 11 ; vii. 34 ; xiv. 36. The use of the Aramaic expressions themselves is a token of fidelity to the original tradition.

² vii. 3, 4 : "For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands diligently, eat not. . . ." xiv. 12 : "And on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the pass-over." xv. 42 : " . . . The Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath."

³ σπεκουλάτωρ (speculator, "soldier of the guard"), κεντυρίων (centurio), ξέστης (sextarius, "pot"), τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι (satisfacere, "to content"). These are peculiar to Mark. κράββατος

(grabatus, "bed") he uses five times, although it does not occur in Matthew or Luke (but in one passage in John—v. 8-12). Cf. the Roman expression in xii. 42 : "two mites which make a farthing" (κοδράντης = quadrans); and in xv. 16 : "the court, which is the Prætorium" (πραιτώριον).

⁴ xv. 21 : "And they compel one passing by, Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to go with them, that he might bear his (Jesus') cross."

⁵ Rom. xvi. 13 : "Salute Rufus the chosen in the Lord."

3. Character and Contents.

If the first Gospel may be described as Messianic, the second may be fitly styled *realistic*, bearing traces throughout of the graphic report of an eye-witness.

It is *minute and circumstantial*, giving many details of person, number, place, and time that are not to be found in the other Gospels.¹ It gives a *vivid description* of the emotions, looks, gestures, and actions of our Lord and others.² It brings out the *picturesque character* of

¹ xiii. 3, 4: "And as he sat on the mount of Olives *over against the temple*, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?" *cf.* Matt. xxiv. 3: "And as he sat on the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him"; Luke xxi. 7: "And they asked him, saying," vi. 7: "And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth *by two and two*"; *cf.* Matt. x. 5: "These twelve Jesus sent forth, and charged them, saying"; Luke ix. 2: "And he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick." xii. 41: "And He *sat down over against the treasury*, and beheld how the multitude cast money into the treasury"; *cf.* Luke xxi. 1: "And he looked up, and saw the rich men." i. 35: "And *in the morning, a great while before day, he rose up* and went out, and departed into a desert place, and there prayed"; *cf.* Luke iv. 42: "And when it was day, he came out and went into a desert place." vi. 21-28: "... Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, and the high captains, and the chief men of Galilee. . . . And she *went out*, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask? . . . And straightway the king sent forth a soldier of his guard. . . ." *cf.* Matt. xiv. 6-12. i. 13: "And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was *with the wild beasts*; and the angels ministered unto him" (*cf.* Matt. iv., Luke iv.).

² iii. 5: "And when he had looked round about on them *with anger*," &c. *Cf.* Matt. xii. 13: "Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thy

hand"; Luke vi. 10: "And he looked round about on them all." iii. 34: "And *looking round* on them which *sat round about him*"; *cf.* Matt. xii. 49: "And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples." vii. 33: "And he *took him aside from the multitude privately*, and *put his fingers into his ears*, and he *spat*, and *touched his tongue*; and *looking up to heaven*, he *sighed*, and saith unto him, Ephphatha." viii. 33: "But he *turning about*, and *seeing his disciples*, rebuked Peter." ix. 36: "And he took a little child, and set him in the midst of them: and *taking him in his arms*, he said unto them"; *cf.* Matt. xviii. 2: "And he called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them, and said"; Luke ix. 47: "But when Jesus saw the reasoning of their heart, he took a little child, and set him by his side, and said unto them." x. 21: "And Jesus *looking upon him loved him*." x. 32: "And they were *in the way, going up to Jerusalem*; and Jesus was *going before them*: and they were *amazed*; and they that *followed were afraid*"; *cf.* Matt. xx. 17: "And as Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve disciples apart, and in the way he said unto them"; Luke xviii. 31: "And he took unto him the twelve, and said unto them." x. 17: "And *as he was going forth into the way, there ran one to him, and kneeled to him*, and asked him, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" *cf.* Matt. xix. 16: "And behold, one came to him and said"; Luke xviii. 18: "And a certain ruler asked him, saying." x. 22: "But *his countenance fell* at the saying"; *cf.* Matt. xix. 22: "He went away sorrow-

many of the scenes enacted in our Lord's ministry, *e.g.* in the narrative of the Feeding of the five thousand this Gospel "alone tells us of the fresh green grass on which they sat down by hundreds and by fifties; and the word used for 'companies' means literally 'flower-beds,' as though to St. Peter those multitudes, in their festal passover attire, with its many-coloured Oriental brightness of red and blue, looked like the patches of crocus and poppy and tulip and amaryllis which he had seen upon the mountain slopes."¹ In keeping with this is the *photographic character* of its account of the Transfiguration and the cure of the demoniac boy,² and of the storm on the Sea of Gennesaret.³ It also frequently reproduces *the very words* of Jesus⁴ and of others,⁵ using the term "Rabbi," or teacher ("Master") as the earlier mode of addressing Jesus, where the other evangelists prefer "Lord"⁶ and narrates events in the *present tense* as if they were just taking place.⁷

ful"; Luke xviii. 23: "He became exceedingly sorrowful." x. 50: "And he, casting away his garment, sprang up, and came to Jesus"; cf. Luke xviii. 40.

¹ vi. 35-44 (Farrar).

² ix., cf. Matt. xvii., Luke ix. 28-42. Raffaele is mainly indebted to this Gospel for the details of his great picture.

³ iv. 35-41: "... They take him with them, *even as he was*, in the boat. And *other boats* were with him. And there ariseth a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the boat, insomuch that *the boat was now filling*. And he himself was *in the stern*, asleep *on the cushion*"; cf. Matt. viii. 23, 24: "And when he was entered into a boat, his disciples followed him. And behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the boat was covered with the waves: but he was asleep."

⁴ iv. 39: "Peace, be still" (cf. Matt. viii. 26). vi. 31: "Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest a while." ix. 25: "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him"; cf. Matt. xvii. 18.

⁵ vi. 22-25 (words of Herod. of Herodias, and of her daughter)—the last only being found, in a direct form, in Matthew (xiv. 6-12). x. 49: "And

Jesus stood still, and said, Call ye him. And they call the blind man, saying unto him, Be of good cheer: rise, he calleth thee"; cf. Matt. xx. 32: "And Jesus stood still, and called them."

⁶ iv. 38: "Master, carest thou not that we perish?" cf. Matt. viii. 25, "Save, Lord; we perish." ix. 5: "Rabbi, it is good for us to be here"; cf. Matt. xvii. 4: "Lord, it is good for us to be here." x. 51: "Rabboni, that I may receive my sight"; cf. Matt. xx. 33, "Lord, that our eyes may be opened." (This feature of Mark's Gospel is in harmony with Peter's words on the day of Pentecost, "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts ii. 36). But in this light the occurrence of the expression "the Lord" (xvi. 19, 20), *after the Resurrection*, should scarcely be reckoned, as it is by Dr Farrar, among the signs of spuriousness of this passage.) We find a similar instance of *literal accuracy* in the habitual use of the name "Simon" in the beginning of the Gospel, before the apostolic name of Peter had been conferred, i. 16, 29, 30, 36.

⁷ *e.g.*, i. 40: "And there cometh to him a leper"; cf. Matt. viii. 2: "And behold, there came to him a leper."

Altogether, it is a simple, direct, forcible narrative, and gives the general outline of our Lord's ministry in a clearer form than either the Gospel of Matthew or Luke. It sets Him before us as He worked and taught in the *living present*, making no mention of the law, and scarcely ever quoting prophecy, but aiming simply to depict Him in that aspect of energetic and victorious strength which was fitted to impress the Roman mind, and which is foreshadowed by the opening words, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God."¹

The following are the passages peculiar to Mark's Gospel:—

The alarm of Jesus' family (iii. 21).

The seed growing secretly (iv. 26-29).

The healing of one deaf and dumb (vii. 32-37).

The gradual healing of the blind man (viii. 22-26).

The exhortation to watch (xiii. 33-37).

The flight of the young man (xiv. 51, 52).

Certain details about the Lord's Resurrection (xvi. 6-11).

In this connection it may be well to recall the fact that while Mark's Gospel has a larger proportion of common matter than any of the others—amounting to no less than 93 per cent. of its whole contents—this is probably due, not to its having borrowed from the others, but to its more strict adherence to the original cycle of oral teaching (Chap. II. § 3).²

xiv. 43: "And straightway, while he yet spake, cometh Judas, one of the twelve"; cf. Matt. xxvi. 47: "And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came."

¹ A worthy consummation is reached in the closing verses (whose genuineness, however, is disputed—*see* following note), viz., xvi. 19, 20: "So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the signs that followed."

² Verses 9-20 in the last chapter are absent from some ancient MSS. (*see* marginal note, R.V.). Their absence from **N** and **B**, however, is largely discounted by the fact that in both MSS. there are traces of a hiatus, as if the passage had been purposely omitted in copying from a still older MS. At the same time, the verses referred to differ greatly in style and language from the rest of the book, and the probability is that they were added by a later hand (possibly with the aid of an independent record), not long after the publication of the Gospel, in order to give a suitable close to the narrative.

CHAPTER V.

"THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE.

1. *Authorship.*

THE authorship of the third Gospel has scarcely ever been disputed. It has uniformly been ascribed to Luke, the friend and companion of the Apostle Paul.

A comparison of its opening verses with the preface to the Book of Acts, and an examination of the style and structure of the two books, leave no room for doubt that they were written by one and the same person. The indications of his personality afforded by certain passages in the Book of Acts, where he joins himself with Paul by the use of the first person plural as if he were in his company at the time—viewed in the light of the information afforded by the Book of Acts and the epistles of Paul, regarding the apostle's personal associates and his relations with them,—justify us in holding that the early Church was right in ascribing the authorship to Luke.¹

With regard to Luke's personal history, nearly all that we know of him is connected with the apostolic labours of Paul. He is referred to by that apostle as "the beloved physician,"² and it has been suggested that it may have been owing to Paul's need of medical attendance that they were first brought into intimate relations with one another.³ Traces of Luke's profession have been dis-

¹An examination of the relative passages, which are too numerous to mention, shows that there are only three of the apostle's friends who could have been with him on the occasions referred to, viz., Luke, Jesus Justus, and Demas. But Demas is disqualified by 2 Tim. iv. 10 ("for Demas forsook me, having loved this present world"); while Jesus Justus is referred to as "of the circumcision"

(Col. iv. 11), whereas the tone, both of the third Gospel and of the Book of Acts, would lead us to suppose that the author was a Gentile. The details are given in Birks's *Horæ Apostolicæ*, p. 351.

²Col. iv. 14.

³Acts xvi. 6-10: "And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia ;

covered in the frequency with which he refers to Christ's work and that of His apostles as a ministry of *healing*, as well as in the occasional use of *technical* and other forms of expression which a physician was likely to employ.²

It has been supposed, not without reason, that it is Luke

. . . and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas. . . . Straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us for to preach the Gospel unto them." Cf. *Galatians* iv. 13-15, "But ye know that *because of an infirmity of the flesh* I preached the Gospel unto you *the first time*. . . ."

¹iv. 18: "And recovering of sight to the blind" (cf. *Isa. lxi.*). iv. 23: "And he said unto them, Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, *Physician, heal thyself*: whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum, do also here in thine own country." ix. 1: "And he called the twelve together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and *to cure diseases*." 2: "And he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God, and to *heal the sick*." 6: "And they departed, and went throughout the villages, preaching the gospel, and *healing everywhere*." x. 9: "And *heal the sick* that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." Cf. xxii. 51, which tells of the *healing* of Malchus' ear, a fact unrecorded by any of the three other evangelists in their account of the incident. There are four other miracles of healing peculiar to Luke, viz., the raising of the widow's son (vii. 11-17), the healing of the "woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years" (xiii. 10-17), the cure of a man "which had the dropsy" (xiv. 1-6), and the cleansing of the ten lepers (xvii. 11-19).

²iv. 38: "a great fever"; v. 12, "a man full of leprosy"; vi. 19, "power came forth from him, and healed them all"; xxii. 44, "his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground." A token of Luke's professional feeling has been found in the more measured terms he employs in viii. 43: "And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, which had spent all her living upon physicians, and could not be healed of any," as compared with Mark v. 25 and 26: "And a woman, which had an issue of

blood twelve years, and had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse." But this is a very precarious inference, especially in view of the entire omission by Matthew of the allusion to the failure of the physicians (ix. 20: "And behold, a woman, who had an issue of blood twelve years"). It would be different if we could adopt the reading in MSS. A. and D., which omits the words "which had spent all her living upon physicians." Bishop Alexander points out that Luke distinguishes between cases of "possession" and diseases in the ordinary sense (vi. 17, 18: "A great number . . . came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases; and they that were troubled with unclean spirits were healed"). The same writer has some striking observations on the *psychological insight* apparent in the third Gospel. "The Gospel of the physician is also the Gospel of the psychologist" (*Leading Ideas of the Gospels*, pp. 105-118). A book on the *Medical Language of St. Luke* has been written by Rev. W. K. Hobart.

With regard to the tradition that Luke was a painter, expressed in Rossetti's lines

"Give honour unto Luke, evangelist,
For he it was, the ancient legends say,
Who first taught Art to fold her hands
and pray,"

there is no authority of any value to support it, although not a few old pictures in Italy are shown to the credulous as the work of Luke. The origin of the legend seems to have been due to the discovery of an inscription in the Catacombs with reference to a rude painting of the Virgin, which stated that it was "one of seven painted by Luca." But, though "not written by a painter, this is yet a painter's Gospel. From it come the favourite subjects:—the Virgin and Child, Simeon, the Scene with the Doctors in the Temple, the Ascension." —(Alexander.)

who is referred to as "the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the churches";¹ but whether this be so or not, we have incontestable evidence that Luke was not only a warm friend of the apostle, but a valuable coadjutor. In the Epistle to Philemon,² which was written during Paul's first imprisonment in Rome, Luke is one of Paul's "fellow-workers" who send greetings, and in 2 Timothy, which was written during Paul's second imprisonment, when many of his friends had forsaken him, we find the brief but weighty statement, "Only Luke is with me."³

Of Luke's nationality and of his history previous to his association with the apostle we have but scanty information. From the distinction drawn between him and those "of the circumcision"⁴ it may be inferred that he was of Gentile extraction; and this inference is confirmed by his Greek name and the character of his style, which—except when he is drawing from older documents or reporting speeches conveyed to him by others—is more classical than that of the other Gospels in the structure of the sentences and the choice of words, as well as in the use of an opening dedication, which is a feature quite foreign to the Hebrew style.⁵ According to Eusebius and Jerome, who wrote in

¹ 2 Cor. viii. 18. We have an ancient memorial of this belief in the superscription at the close of the epistle. "The gospel" is here to be taken in a general sense, not as referring to the Gospel by Luke. It is to be observed that Paul never calls Luke "my son," and we may therefore infer that he was not one of the apostle's converts. Tradition has represented him as one of the Seventy whose mission he records (chap. x.); and it has been suggested that he may have been one of the two disciples (the name of the other he mentions, viz., Cleopas) whose journey with the Risen Lord to Emmaus he narrates so fully in chap. xxiv. Possibly he may have been one of the Greeks referred to in John xii. 20-23, who desired to see Jesus "at the feast."

² ver. 24.

³ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

⁴ Col. iv. 11, 14.

⁵ i. 1-4: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative

concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed." The *Clementine Recognitions* (end of 2nd century) represent Theophilus as a wealthy citizen of Antioch, who gave up the use of his house for the preaching of Peter. It has been suggested that Luke may have been his freedman—the termination of the evangelist's name (*Λουκας* contracted from *Λουκᾶνος*) being a common one with slaves. This supposition is quite consistent with Luke's profession, as slaves and freedmen were frequently men of education and accomplishments. We have evidence of the Gentile destination of this

the fourth century, Luke was a native of Antioch in Syria. Of this we seem to have confirmation in the full account he gives of the Church at Antioch,¹ and also in his description of Nicolas as "a proselyte of Antioch."²

While tradition has always ascribed the third Gospel to Luke, it has assigned to Paul a somewhat similar part in its production to that which Peter bore in relation to the Gospel of Mark.³ Such a connection is rendered probable both by what we know of the relations between Paul and Luke, and by the character of the Gospel itself, which is so liberal and philanthropic in its tone as to form an excellent *historic groundwork for the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith*, that was characteristic of Paul's preaching (see § 3).⁴ There is also a striking simi-

Gospel in the following explanations and allusions:—i. 26: "A city of Galilee, named Nazareth"; ii. 2: "When Quirinius was governor of Syria"; iii. 1: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar"; iv. 31: "Caper-naum, a city of Galilee"; xxi. 37: "The mount that is called the mount of Olives"; xxii. 1: "The feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover."

¹ Acts xi.-xv.

² Acts vi. 5. A parallel has been drawn between this circumstance and the mention made by two *Scottish* authors alone (Scott and Alison),—out of eight writers who give an account of Napoleon's Russian campaign,—of the fact that General Barclay de Tolly was of *Scottish* extraction. There is a reading in *Codex Bezae* (D), accepted by Augustine, which lends still greater probability to Luke's connection with Antioch. In Acts xi., after verse 27: "Now in these days there came down prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch," there occur the words, "And there was great rejoicing; and when we were gathered together." Ewald suggests that this reading may have given rise to the tradition, which we cannot trace to any earlier writer than Eusebius; and it is probably due to a Syriac gloss assimilating the passage to xx. 7, 8.

³ We can trace the tradition as far back as Irenæus, who tells us that "Luke the follower of Paul set down in a book the Gospel preached by

him." At a later time Paul's allusions to "my Gospel" (Rom. ii. 16, &c.) were understood to refer to the compilation which Luke had made under the apostle's direction.

⁴ This is the element of truth lying at the bottom of the Tübingen theory, which represents the third Gospel as an attempt to magnify Paul at the expense of the Judaizers. If the writer had been thus swayed by party spirit, he would scarcely have brought into prominence such Jewish features and incidents in our Lord's history as we find in chapters i., ii. (scenes in the temple); i. 32, 33: "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end"; xviii. 38: "And he cried, saying, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me"; xiii. 16: "And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound, lo, these eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond on the day of the sabbath?"; xix. 9: "And Jesus said unto him, To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham"; xxiv. 44: "And he said unto them, These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, how that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me"; xxiv.

larity between the words attributed to our Lord in *the institution of the Supper* and those in 1 Corinthians (Luke having doubtless often heard Paul use the words in the celebration of the Sacrament),¹ as well as in the accounts which the two books give of our *Lord's appearances after His Resurrection*.² The duty of *prayer*³ and the influence of the *Holy Spirit*,⁴ which figure so largely in this Gospel, are also characteristic of Paul's writings; and there are certain forms of expression which are common to them both, *e.g. a threefold classification of ideas*.⁵

From his preface we learn that it was Luke's object to

52, 53: "And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, blessing God."

¹ xxii. 19, 20: "And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you." 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25: "And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." The expression, "Do this in remembrance of me," which is found in both of the foregoing, is absent from Matthew (xxvi. 26-29) and Mark (xiv. 22-25). In the two latter, also, we find, "This is my blood of the covenant," instead of "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," which is common to Paul and Luke. Again, in Matthew and Mark it is said that Jesus "took bread and blessed it" (*εὐλογῆσας*), and "took a cup and gave thanks" (*εὐχαριστήσας*), while according to Paul and Luke, "He took bread and gave thanks" (*εὐχαριστήσας*).

² xxiv.; 1 Cor. xv. 1-7. In particular, *cf.* xxiv. 34: "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon"; and 1 Cor. xv. 5: "He appeared to Cephas."

³ See p. 56.

⁴ Mentioned four times in the first chapter—viz., at vers. 15, 35, 41, 67.

⁵ xv. 3, 8, 11—Parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son, *cf.* Matt. xviii. 12 (the sheep gone astray); ix. 57-62 (the three would-be followers of Christ), *cf.* Matt. viii. 19-22, which mentions only *two*; xi. 11-12, "... loaf . . . fish . . . egg," *cf.* Matt. vii. 9, 10, "... bread . . . fish"; 1 Cor. xiii. 13, "But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three"; Eph. iv. 4-6, "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."—(*The Four Evangelists*, by Rev. E. Thomson, p. 104.) Many other traces of the Pauline association and influence have been discovered in the language of the Gospel, *e.g.*, iv. 22: "words of grace," *cf.* Col. iv. 6: "Let your speech be always with grace." vi. 36: "Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful," *cf.* 2 Cor. i. 3: "The Father of mercies and God of all comfort"; vi. 39: "Can the blind guide the blind," *cf.* Rom. ii. 19: "A guide of the blind"; x. 8: "Eat such things as are set before you," *cf.* 1 Cor. x. 27: "Whatsoever is set before you, eat"; xi. 41: "And behold, all things are clean unto you," *cf.* Titus i. 15: "To the pure all things are pure"; xxi. 36: "But watch ye at every season, making supplication," *cf.* Eph. vi. 18: "With all prayer and supplication praying at all seasons in the Spirit, and watching thereunto." A resemblance has also been found between the language of this Gospel and that of the Epistle to the Hebrews—due doubtless to the latter having also been written by a friend and associate of Paul's.

draw up in as complete and consecutive a form as possible an account of the main facts regarding Christ's person and work, by reference to the most authentic and reliable sources of information. His missionary travels with Paul would afford excellent opportunities for collecting such information. In particular, the two years which he seems to have spent in Cæsarea during Paul's detention by Felix, where he was within two days' journey of the shores of Lake Gennesaret, the scene of many incidents in our Lord's ministry, would enable him to obtain at first hand, from brethren who had been eye-witnesses, many of those narratives which are only to be found in this Gospel.¹ His high Christian character gave him a moral fitness for the work, while his culture and the love of accuracy manifest in his historical and topographical allusions,² marked him out as a suitable instrument in the hands of Providence for writing the Gospel story in a form as well adapted for the philosophical Greeks as Matthew's Gospel was to be for the theocratic Jews and Mark's for the practical Romans.³

2. *Date of Composition.*

The date of its composition is uncertain. It may have been as early as 60 A.D., at the close of the two years which Luke spent with Paul at Cæsarea; or it may possibly have been during Paul's imprisonment at Rome,

¹ No doubt sometimes delivered orally and sometimes in the form of a written narrative, as indicated in i. 1. Hence the contrast between the Aramaic style of the Gospel generally (and of the earlier part of the Book of Acts) and the classical Greek of Luke's own opening dedication. His informant with regard to the Saviour's infancy and childhood may have been no other than Mary herself.

² *e.g.* in giving dates (ii. 2, iii. 1-3) and in the mention of our Saviour's age when He began His public ministry (iii. 23). But see p. 80 (on the Book of Acts): "The man who in the anxiety and weariness of a tempestuous voyage,

even in a wreck, was able to observe and record with such demonstrated accuracy the incidents of his adventure, must be worthy of credit in any case in which he pledges himself to have carefully investigated the facts that he records as true."

³ Jerome tells us that Luke wrote the Gospel for the Greeks, and that he composed his volume in the regions of Achaia and Bœotia. He also mentions that Luke's remains were buried at Constantinople, having been removed thither, along with those of the Apostle Andrew, in the twentieth year of the reign of Constantius.

61-63 A.D., or even some years later; but in any case anterior to the Book of Acts, as the preface to the latter implies.¹

3. *Character and Contents.*

If St. Matthew's Gospel may be styled the *Messianic* Gospel and St. Mark's the *realistic* Gospel, St. Luke's may be fitly described as the *catholic* Gospel — foreshadowing the expansion of God's kingdom in the *future* as the first Gospel reflects its history in the *past*, and the second describes its energy in the *present*. It is not only more comprehensive in its range, beginning with the birth of the Forerunner and ending with an account of the Ascension,² but it also brings out more fully the breadth of Christ's sympathy and the fulness and freedom of His love. In illustration of this we may note the following points: (1) The Gospel of Luke traces Christ's genealogy, not, as Matthew's does, by the legal line to Abraham, the head of the Jews, but by the *natural line to Adam*, the head of humanity,—forming thus a fit introduction to the life of Him who was to be the Kinsman-Redeemer of the whole human family.³ (2) It exhibits more clearly the reality of Christ's *humanity* in the various

¹ The broad distinction which St Luke makes (alone of the evangelists) between the approaching destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world (e.g. "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," xxi. 24) has led many to assign to this Gospel a date subsequent to 70 A.D. But in the midst of the allusions to national disaster there occur words of far larger import (e.g. xxi. 27: "And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory"). Luke's express object was to write "in order"; and in his greater clearness and precision on this subject as compared with St Matthew we may reasonably hold that we have only another illustration of the fact already referred to, that while Matthew combines words uttered on several different occasions, Luke reports them in their individual form

and setting. Besides, if Luke's Gospel had been written considerably later than the two other Synoptics, it could scarcely have failed to afford evidence of the writer's acquaintance with them.

² No information is given with regard to either of these events in any of the other Gospels, except the bare allusion to the Ascension in the disputed passage of Mark (xvi. 19): "So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God."

³ iii. 38: "... the son of Adam, the son of God"; Matt. i. 1: "... the son of David, the son of Abraham." Cf. ii. 30, 31: "Thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples." iii. 6: "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God"—a part of Isaiah's prophecy (chap. xl.) not quoted by Matthew (iii. 3) or Mark (i. 3).

stages of human life,¹ and brings into special prominence His dependence upon God in the great crises of His life, when He had recourse to Him in *prayer*,² while it inculcates earnestness in prayer by two parables peculiar to itself.³ (3) In keeping with this view of it as the gospel of humanity, we find that it represents Christ's *teaching* not so much in its theocratic as in its *human aspects* — its usual formula in the introduction of a parable being not "the kingdom of heaven is like," as in Matthew's, but "a certain man made a great supper," "a certain man had two sons," &c.⁴ (4) It represents Christ as *far-reaching in His sympathies*, full of compassion for the poor, the weak, the suffering, and ready to forgive the chief of sinners. It is in this Gospel we find the parables of The Rich Man and Lazarus, The Pharisee and Publican, the Prodigal Son, and the two Debtors.⁵ It is here we find a record of Christ's visit to the house of Zacchæus the publican, of His gracious reception of the woman that was a sinner, of His prayer for His murderers, and of His promise of Paradise to the penitent malefactor.⁶ It is here we find the touching story of the raising to life of the young man at the gate of Nain,⁷ who was "the only son of his mother, and she was a widow"; it is here we are told that Jairus' daughter, whom Christ restored to life, was an "only daughter";⁸ it is here we learn that the demoniac boy whom He healed at the foot

¹ ii. 4-7 (His birth); 21 (circumcision); 22 (presentation in the temple); 40 (childhood, "and the child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom"); 42 (first Passover as a son of the Law); 51 (submission to parents, "he was subject unto them"); 52 ("Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men"); iii. 23 (full maturity, "and Jesus himself, when he began to teach, was about thirty years of age"). But for Luke the first thirty years of our Lord's life would be an entire blank—with the exception of the incidents of His infancy recorded by Matthew.

² iii. 21 (at His baptism); vi. 12, 13 (before choosing His apostles); ix. 28, 29 (at His transfiguration); xxiii. 34, 46 (prayer for His murderers, and commending of His spirit into His Father's hands).

³ xi. 5-13 (the appeal to friend at midnight); xviii. 1-8 (the importunate widow).

⁴ xiv. 16; xv. 11, &c.

⁵ xvi. 19; xviii. 9; xv. 11; vii. 41-43

⁶ xix. 1; vii. 37; xxiii. 43.

⁷ vii. 11.

⁸ viii. 42.

of the Mount of Transfiguration was an "only child."¹ (5) It is the Gospel of *toleration and large-heartedness*, embracing within the range of its sympathy the *Samaritan*,² the *Gentile*,³ the *poor*,⁴ the *very young*,—this being the only Gospel that tells us that the children brought to Jesus were "babes"⁵—and the *weaker*, and up to that time *less-honoured, sex*.⁶

¹ ix. 38.

² x. 25-37 (the story of the Good Samaritan); ix. 51-55: "And it came to pass, when the days were well-nigh come that he should be received up, he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he were going to Jerusalem. And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them? But he turned, and rebuked them"; xvii. 11-19 (Cleansing of the ten lepers, only one of whom gave thanks, "and he was a Samaritan").

³ iv. 25-27: "But of a truth I say unto you, There were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there came a great famine over all the land; and unto none of them was Elijah sent, but only to Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, but only Naaman the Syrian." xiii. 28, 29: "There shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God."

⁴ ii. 7: "... and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn." 8-12: "And there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, and keeping watch by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone round

about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people: for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this is the sign unto you; Ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger." 22, 24; "They brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord, and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons." vi. 20: "Blessed are ye poor." ix. 58: "The Son of man hath not where to lay his head." xiv. 21: "... Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame."

⁵ xviii. 15, R.V.

⁶ i. (Concerning Mary and Elisabeth); ii. 36-38 (concerning Anna the prophetess); viii. 1-3 (concerning Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Susanna, and "many other women which ministered unto them (*i.e.* Christ and His disciples) of their substance"; x. 38-42 (concerning Martha and Mary); xxiii. 27, 28 "... Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children." "The Teacher who included in his church the humble, the distressed, and the repentant, is attended by the weak and loving rather than by a council of Elders, a band of Warriors, or a school of Prophets" (Westcott). It is significant in this connection to find that Marcion (as Epiphanius tells us) had inserted in the account of Christ's trial before Pilate in his Gospel of Luke, the words *καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα* ("and turning away the women and children") as part of the accusation brought against Him by the Jews.

It is no accident, therefore, that the words "Saviour," "salvation," "grace," occur more frequently in this than in any other Gospel;¹ it is no accident that it represents the Saviour's birth as heralded by angels to shepherds watching their flocks by night,² and His ministry as opening in a despised village of Galilee with the gracious words of the evangelic prophet, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor";³ it is no accident that as its first chapters resound with the voice of praise and thanksgiving for the birth of the Saviour, its closing verses tell of the disciples' joy as they returned to Jerusalem with the blessing of the Ascended Saviour resting on their heads, to be "continually in the temple, blessing God":—it is because this Gospel from first to last tells the "good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people,"⁴ and proclaims a Saviour who is to be "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and the glory of (Thy people) Israel"⁵—in whose name "repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem."⁶ Luke is indeed the most evangelical of all the evangelists, and as such he has fitly preserved for us the first precious germs of Christian hymnology, which, after eighteen centuries, are still prized as an aid to worship by almost all sections of the Christian Church, viz., the Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Nunc Dimittis.⁷

¹ None of these words (σωτήρ, σωτηρία, χάρις) is found in either of the other Synoptics. The first occurs twice in Luke, once in John; the second four times in Luke, once in John; the third eight times in Luke, and three times in John.

² ii. 8-14. The ministry of angels both to Christ and to His people is more prominent in this than in any other Gospel; the same feature is noticeable in the Book of Acts, in which angels are mentioned twenty-two times.

³ iv. 18 (at Nazareth).

⁴ ii. 10 (the angel's message to the shepherds).

⁵ ii. 32 (Simeon's prophecy).

⁶ xxiv. 47 (words spoken by Christ before His ascension).

⁷ i. 46-55 ("And Mary said—*My soul doth magnify the Lord*," &c.); i. 67-79 ("Zacharias . . . prophesied, saying, *Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel*," &c.; ii. 13; "And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, *Glorify to God in the highest*," &c.; ii. 28-32, "he (Simeon) received him into his arms, and blessed God, and said, *Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord*," &c.

It adds to the importance of this Gospel, styled by Renan "the most beautiful book in the world," that about one-third of its contents is peculiar to itself,—consisting mainly of chapters ix. 51-xviii. 14, relating to the Saviour's last journey to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VI.

"THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN."

1. *Authorship.*

It is a weighty and significant fact that until the close of the last century the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel was never seriously challenged. Epiphanius, indeed (380 A.D.), tells us of a very small party¹ who had ascribed it to Cerinthus, a heretical contemporary of the Apostle John at Ephesus; but they seem to have had no other reason for rejecting it than their aversion to its teaching. During the present century no question has been the subject of more controversy; and scarcely any can be of more importance, considering its close bearing on the doctrinal aspects of Christianity, and especially on the divinity of Jesus Christ.²

¹ Nicknamed by Epiphanius the *Alogi* ("Ἀλογοί, irrational), as denying the Logos (Word or Reason) of John i. and Rev. xix. 13, the latter book being also rejected by them. A few such heretics are vaguely referred to by Irenæus. As Cerinthus lived at Ephesus in the end of the 1st century, the ascription of the Gospel to him in the next century by those who were opposed to its teaching is so far a refutation of Baur's theory that it was written so late as about 170 A.D. As many other sects would have found it equally convenient, for doctrinal purposes, to call in question the authority of the Fourth Gospel, the fact that this course was so seldom resorted to shows how firmly established the Gospel was in the general estimation of the Church. To this we may add, that the absence of any reference in this Gospel to the subjects of controversy in the 2nd century is a strong confirmation of its apostolic origin.

² The question was raised by Evan-son in his *Dissonance of the Evangelists* in 1792; and the case against the Gospel was elaborately stated by Bretschneider in his *Probabilia* in 1820. This negative view has been maintained by Strauss, Weisse, Baur, Zeller, Schwegler, Volkmar, Keim, Scholten, Hilgenfeld—but with a growing tendency of recent years to push back the date to the early part of the 2nd century. In the progress of the controversy there has been a frequent shifting of ground on the part of those who deny the genuineness of the Gospel—owing partly to the discovery of ancient documents which testify against them (e.g., Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and Hippolytus' *Refutation of Heresies*), partly to the collapse of some of their arguments (such as that relating to the Quarto-deciman controversy, which has been proved by Schürer and others to rest on a misconception of the Paschal reckoning in the Eastern Church, and

To a large extent the question is overtaken by the line of evidence already indicated in connection with the Gospels as a whole (Chap. II. § 2). Although not quoted by name till late in the 2nd century,¹ the external evidence for this Gospel is in some respects stronger than for any of the others. It is specially quoted by such early Gnostic writers as Basilides (125 A.D.), Valentinus (145 A.D., whose favourite phrases were borrowed from its opening verses), and Heracleon (a disciple of Valentinus), who wrote a commentary on it—being the first known commentary on any part of the New Testament.² It has also to be borne in mind that John himself survived till near the close of the first century, so that a comparatively short interval was left between his death and the time when the four Gospels are known to have been universally accepted by the Church (185 A.D.). For this interval it so happens that, apart from the Gnostic testimony already adduced, we have a direct chain of testimony consisting of a very few strong and well-connected links. At the lower end of the chain we have Irenæus, one of the most important witnesses to the general reception of the four Gospels towards the close of

that referring to the Saviour's occasional visits to Jerusalem, which they regarded as an invention of the Fourth Gospel but which have been shown to be in themselves probable and in keeping with many things incidentally mentioned in the Synoptics), and partly to the Christological consequences that have been seen to be involved in their acceptance of the Book of Revelation as the work of John,—which was originally part of the Tübingen creed. On the other side are ranged many eminent scholars, such as Meyer, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Luthardt, Godet, Westcott, Lightfoot, and Sanday.

¹ By Theophilus in his *Ad Autolyicum*, ii. 22; 180 A.D.

² Exception has been taken to the argument from the alleged testimony of Basilides and Valentinus on the ground that Hippolytus, who has preserved it for us in his *Refutation of Heresies*, does not distinguish between the statements of those teachers them-

selves and of their followers. But in some cases this objection is quite untenable, e.g. vii. 22: And this, he says, is what is said in the Gospels: "There was the true light, even the light which lighteth every man coming into the world," being an exact quotation of John i. 9. In this connection Matthew Arnold writes: "In general he (*i.e.* Hippolytus) uses the formula 'according to them' (*κατ' αὐτοῖς*) when he quotes from the school, and the formula, 'he says' (*φησὶ*), when he gives the dicta of the master. And in this particular case he manifestly quotes the dicta of Basilides, and no one who had not a theory to serve would ever dream of doubting it. Basilides, therefore, about the year 125 of our era, had before him the Fourth Gospel." (*God and the Bible*, p. 268). From Hippolytus we also learn that this Gospel was known and used by heretical sects still earlier than Basilides, viz., the Ophites or Naasenes and the Peratae.

the second century. Born in Asia Minor, where John spent the last twenty or thirty years of his life, he became Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, which had a close ecclesiastical connection with his native land. Early in life he was brought into familiar contact with Polycarp (born 70 A.D.), a disciple of the Apostle John, who was for more than forty years Bishop of Smyrna, and was martyred 155 A.D. Among other allusions which he makes to Polycarp, he says, in a letter to his friend Florinus (177 A.D.), "I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord and about His miracles, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures."

It is beyond dispute that this Irenæus accepted the fourth Gospel as a genuine work of the Apostle John. Is it credible that he would have done so, if it had not been acknowledged by his teacher Polycarp, who had been a disciple of John? And if it was accepted by Polycarp as a genuine writing, notwithstanding its marked dissimilarity to the other Gospels, what better evidence could we have that John was really its author, and that it was accepted as his, from the very first, by the leaders of the Church in Asia Minor?¹

¹ This argument is further strengthened by the fact that not a few quotations from this Gospel are found in the writings of Justin Martyr, who wrote before the middle of the 2nd century, and was well acquainted with the teaching of the Church in Asia Minor, his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew having taken place in Ephesus. Among other apparent quotations from this Gospel, Justin has the following: (1) Referring to Baptism, he says (*Apol.* i. 61): "For

Christ also said, Except ye be born again, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven (*"Αν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*). But that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into the wombs of those who brought them forth, is manifest to all" (John iii. 3-5, *cf.* Matt. xviii. 3). That the want of verbal accuracy in this quotation should not be held to invalidate its testimony is

The following are the principal facts in John's life, and the circumstances under which he is said to have written his Gospel:—

The younger son of Zebedee, a Galilæan fisherman who was in a position to have "hired servants,"¹ he was a follower of the Baptist before joining Christ's fellowship.² To his mother Salome, supposed by some to be the sister of the Virgin Mary,³ who was one of the most devoted followers of Jesus, he and his brother James seem to have been indebted for much of their enthusiasm.⁴ They were surnamed by Jesus "Boanerges" (sons of thunder),⁵ in allusion to the latent fervour and vehemence of their nature, of which we are not without tokens.⁶ During Christ's trial and crucifixion John was a close and deeply-interested observer, receiving a charge from his dying Master to act the part of a son to the bereaved Mary,⁷

shown by Dr Ezra Abbot, who mentions (*The Fourth Gospel*, p. 35) that of nine quotations which Jeremy Taylor makes from this same passage (ver. 5) not one agrees exactly with the English version, and only two of them agree with one another. (2) He frequently refers to Jesus as the Logos "made flesh" or "having become man." (3) He calls Him "the only begotten to the Father" apparently on the authority of "the memoirs" (*Dial.* c. 105, *cf.* John i. 14). (4) He attributes to the Baptist the words, "I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying," which are found only in the Fourth Gospel, i. 20, 23.

¹ Mark i. 19, 20.

² By inference from John i., especially vers. 35-42; (quoted p. 70, note 1); x. 40, 41, &c.

³ John xix. 25: "But there were standing by the cross of Jesus his mother, and *his mother's sister*, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene;" *cf.* Mark xv. 40, "And there were also women beholding from afar; among whom were both Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joseph, and *Salome*."

⁴ Matt. xx. 20-24: "Then came to him the mother of the sons of Zebedee with her sons, worshipping him, and asking a certain thing of him. And he said unto her, What wouldest thou? She saith unto him, Command that these

my two sons may sit, one on thy right hand, and one on thy left hand, in thy kingdom. But Jesus answered and said, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I am about to drink? They say unto him, We are able. . . ."

⁵ Mark iii. 17.

⁶ Luke ix. 49-55: "And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us. But Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you. . . . And they (Samaritans) did not receive him, because his face was as though he were going to Jerusalem. And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them? But he turned, and rebuked them."

⁷ John xviii. 15, 16: "And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. Now that disciple was known unto the high priest, and entered in with Jesus into the court of the high priest." &c. xix. 25-27: ". . . When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold, thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold, thy mother! And from that hour the disciple took her unto his own home."

which he faithfully carried out. After the Resurrection we find him associated with Peter on several important occasions,¹ but not a single discourse of his is recorded in the Book of Acts. He still continued, however, to be revered as a leader of the Church, for we find him referred to by St. Paul, in connection with the Council of Jerusalem (50 A.D.), as one of those who were "reputed to be pillars."² In his later life, after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), according to a general and well-supported tradition,³ John resided in Ephesus as bishop of the Churches in Asia Minor which had been founded by Paul, and was banished under Domitian to the island of Patmos, where he wrote the Book of Revelation, returning to Ephesus in the reign of Nerva, and living there till after the accession of Trajan (98 A.D.).

It was in Ephesus, which had now become the chief centre of Christianity, and was beginning to be infected by the errors of which Paul had warned its elders at Miletus,⁴ that the earliest traditions represent John to have written his Gospel. He is said to have done so on the entreaty, and with the subsequent approval, of the Apostle Andrew and other leading members of the Church, in order to supplement the teaching of the three Gospels already published, and to counteract the errors which were beguiling some from the simplicity of the faith.

Turning now to the evidence of its authorship afforded by the Gospel itself, we may first of all note the fact that the whole tone of the book would give one the impression that it was written by some one who was *familiar with the inner life of Christ and His apostles*.⁵ This circumstance

¹ Acts iii., iv. (In the healing of the lame man at the door of the temple—in preaching to the people—in testifying before the Jewish authorities—in reporting to their own company).

² Gal. ii. 9: "James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars."

³ The recent attempt by Keim and Scholten to set aside this tradition has not been successful, their views being sufficiently refuted by Hilgenfeld and others of their own school.

⁴ Acts xx. 29, 30: "I know that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them."

⁵ i. 35-51 (Details of the first interview which Andrew and another (apparently John) and Simon Peter and Philip and Nathanael held with Jesus). ii. 11 (Effect of the miracle at Cana on the faith of the disciples, "his disciples

points to one of the twelve disciples as the author—in accordance with the statement in the first chapter,¹ “We beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father,” and the explicit declaration in the last chapter (the whole of which seems to form a postscript² added by the apostle and endorsed by his companions),—“This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and

believed on him”). ii. 17: “His disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house shall eat me up.” ii. 21, 22: “But he spake of the temple of his body. When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he spake this; and they believed the scripture, and the word which Jesus had said.” iv. 6, 8 (The hour, and other circumstances, of Jesus’ sitting by Jacob’s well). iv. 27: “And upon this came his disciples; and they marvelled that he was speaking with a woman; yet no man said, What seekest thou? or, Why speakest thou with her?” vi. 5-8 (Jesus’ conversation with Philip and Andrew regarding means of feeding the multitude). vi. 67-71 (Jesus’ conversation with Simon Peter and the Twelve whom He asked, Would ye also go away?). ix. 2: “And his disciples asked him, saying, Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?” xi. 7-16 (Jesus’ conversation with His disciples about the death of Lazarus, and Thomas’ remark to his fellow-disciples, “Let us also go, that we may die with him”). xii. 20-22: “Now there were certain Greeks among those that went up to worship at the feast: these therefore came to Philip, which was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and asked him, saying, Sir, we would see Jesus. Philip cometh and telleth Andrew: Andrew cometh, and Philip, and they tell Jesus.” xiii. (Jesus’ washing of the disciples’ feet, and His conversation with them). xviii. 15, 16: “And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. Now that disciple was known unto the high priest, and entered in with Jesus into the court of the high priest; but Peter was standing at the door without. So the other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.” xx. (Incidents on the morning of the Lord’s Resurrection, and details of His mani-

festation to Thomas and the other disciples).

¹ i. 14.

² A comparison of the language of this chapter with that of the Gospel generally, affords evidence of its genuineness. Cf. *ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων* (“about two hundred cubits off”) in ver. 8 and *ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε* (“about fifteen furlongs off”) in xi. 18; *ὀψάριον καὶ ἄρτον* (“fish and bread”) in ver. 9 and the similar expression in vi. 11, *ὀψάριον* being found nowhere in the New Testament except in John’s writings; *ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων* in ver. 24: “This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true,” and the many similar expressions in John’s writings, e.g. xix. 35: “And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe”; the designation, peculiar to John’s Gospel, of the Sea of Galilee as the Sea of Tiberias, in ver. 1 and vi. 1; the expression “Nathanael of Cana in Galilee” in ver. 2 as illustrated by i. 45—ii. 1; “Thomas called Didymus” in ver. 2, xi. 16, xx. 24, and nowhere else in the New Testament; “the disciple whom Jesus loved” in ver. 7, ver. 20, xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, and nowhere else. The exact recollection and fine appreciation of the Saviour’s words in ver. 23: “This saying therefore went forth among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, that he should not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?” is also characteristic of the Apostle John, and falls in with the supposition that when he wrote, his life seemed to be very near its close. The words in ver. 19, “Now this he spake, signifying by what manner of death he should glorify God,” may be taken as a proof that Peter was already dead.

wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true."¹ As to which of the disciples is here meant, we find a clue in the twentieth verse of the same chapter, which identifies him with "the disciple whom Jesus loved," who is twice previously referred to in association with Peter,² and is also described as "reclining in Jesus' bosom" at the Last Supper.³ The presumption that the disciple thus designated was one of the sons of Zebedee, who were admitted along with Peter (as the other evangelists tell us) to a closer fellowship with their Master than the rest of the disciples, is strengthened by the remarkable circumstance that the two brothers are never mentioned in this Gospel, except in the second verse of the last chapter, where they are referred to as "the sons of Zebedee." The position there assigned to them in the list of disciples is much lower than is usual in the other Gospels, and confirms us in the supposition that it was modesty that led the author to veil his own name,⁴ as well as that of his brother James and his mother Salome (whom he nowhere mentions unless perhaps once,⁵) as he is in general very precise and explicit in his mode of designation. As between the two brothers, there can be no hesitation in assigning the authorship to John, since James early fell a victim to the Herodian persecution 44 A.D.⁶

If the Gospel was not written by John, it must have been written by some one who wished to pass for that apostle.⁷ But where shall we find a writer of the post-

¹ xxi. 24.

² xx. 2-10,—at the Saviour's tomb; xxi. 7,—in the recognition of the risen Lord.

³ xiii. 23.

⁴ i. 35-42: "One of the two that heard John (*i.e.* the Baptist) speak, and followed him" (*i.e.* Jesus), was Andrew; (the name of the other is not given). It is noteworthy that in the Fourth Gospel the Baptist is simply designated John, the writer not having to distinguish between two persons of that name, as the other evangelists had. xviii. 15, 16 (quoted on page 65). xix. 26: "When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the

disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold, thy son!" This incident is not recorded in any of the other Gospels, being one of this disciple's own reminiscences.

⁵ xix. 25; see p. 63, note 3.

⁶ Acts xii. 2: "And he (*i.e.* Herod) killed James the brother of John with the sword."

⁷ In the latter case the claim would surely have been more plainly and directly made, as in other forgeries of the age (*e.g.* in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, and the *Clementine Homilies*).

apostolic age possessed of the intellectual gifts and the spiritual elevation needed for the production of so sublime a work, a writer dishonest enough at the same time to claim for his fabrications, in the most solemn terms, the authority of an eye-witness and apostle who had reclined in Jesus' bosom? For those who reject the Johannine authorship this amounts to an insuperable difficulty.¹

Besides the allusions to the inner life of Christ and His apostles which have already been referred to, there may be discerned in this Gospel, on a close examination, many other tokens of its apostolic origin.

(1) In its account of Christ's ministry it gives a faithful picture of the *Messianic expectations* which existed among the Jews prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, as well as of the conflict which Christ waged with their hopes of temporal sovereignty;² while we also find traces of

¹ From the writings of the Apostles to those of the Apostolic Fathers is a great descent. "We have to go to the fourth century, to the time of Chrysostom and Augustine, before we find any Christian writer whom it would not be absurd to regard as capable, even with the help of the Synoptic Gospels, of putting together such discourses as those in the Fourth Gospel" (Peabody). The character of the Apocryphal Gospels, in particular, confirms this view.

² i. 19-28: "And this is the witness of John, when the Jews sent unto him from Jerusalem priests and Levites to ask him, Who art thou? And he confessed, and denied not; and he confessed, I am not the Christ. . . ." iv. 25: "The woman saith unto him, I know that Messiah cometh (which is called Christ): when he is come, he will declare unto us all things." v. 39-47: "Ye search the scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me; and ye will not come to me, that ye may have life." vi. 14, 15: "When therefore the people saw the sign which he did, they said, This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world. Jesus therefore perceiving that they were

about to come and take him by force, to make him king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone." vii. 25-44: ". . . Can it be that the rulers indeed know that this is the Christ? Howbeit we know this man whence he is: but when the Christ cometh, no one knoweth whence he is. . . . But of the multitude many believed on him; and they said, When the Christ shall come, will he do more signs than those which this man hath done. . . . Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. . . ." [Lightfoot points out that the distinction here made by the Jews between "the prophet" (referring to Deut. xviii. 15) and the Christ, is a note of genuineness in this Gospel, as no such distinction was recognised within the Christian Church, the two being identified in Acts iii. 22 and vii. 37. The popular conviction, "This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world" (see above), was due to the resemblance between the miraculous feeding of the five thousand and Moses' feeding of the Israelites with manna.] x. 24, 25: "The Jews therefore came round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou hold us

acquaintance with the *Temple arrangements* of the same period.¹

(2) It shows a minute acquaintance with *Jewish customs, manners, and opinions*,² frequently giving

in suspense? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believe not: the works that I do in my Father's name, these bear witness of me." xi. 47-53: "The chief priests therefore and the Pharisees gathered a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many signs. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation. . . ." xii. 34: "The multitude therefore answered him, We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? who is this Son of man?" xix. 12: "Upon this Pilate sought to release him: but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend: every one that maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar."

¹ ii. 13-16: "And the passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And he found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and he made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold the doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise." iv. 20, 21: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father." viii. 20: "These words spake he in the treasury, as he taught in the temple." x. 23: "And Jesus was walking in the temple in Solomon's porch."

² ii. 6: "Now there were six waterpots of stone set there after the Jews' manner of purifying, containing two or three firkins apiece." iii. 25: "There arose therefore a questioning on the part of John's disciples with a Jew about purifying." vii. 22: "For this cause hath Moses given you circumcision (not that it is of Moses, but of the

fathers); and on the sabbath ye circumsise a man." xi. 55: "Now the passover of the Jews was at hand: and many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the passover, to purify themselves." xix. 7: "The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." 31: "The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the cross upon the sabbath (for the day of that sabbath was a high day), asked of Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away." iv. 9: "The Samaritan woman therefore saith unto him, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a Samaritan woman? (For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans)." 27: "And upon this came his disciples; and they marvelled that he was speaking with a woman." vii. 2: "Now the feast of the Jews, the feast of tabernacles, was at hand." 37: "Now on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink." x. 22: "And it was the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem: it was winter." xi. 44: "He that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-cloths; and his face was bound about with a napkin." xviii. 28: "They lead Jesus therefore from Caiaphas into the palace: and it was early; and they themselves entered not into the palace, that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover." xix. 40: "So they took the body of Jesus, and bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the custom of the Jews is to bury." i. 46: "And Nathanael said unto him, Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" vii. 35: "The Jews therefore said among themselves, Whither will this man go that we shall not find him? will he go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks, and teach the Greeks?" 41: "Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee?" 52: "They answered and said unto him (*i.e.* Nicodemus), Art thou also of

explanations as if it were written by a Jew for foreign readers.¹

(3) It also shows a minute acquaintance with the *topography* of Jerusalem, and with the *geography* of Palestine generally.²

Galilee? Search, and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." ix. 2: "And his disciples asked him, saying, Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?" 16: "Some therefore of the Pharisees said, This man is not from God, because he keepeth not the sabbath. But others said, How can a man that is a sinner do such signs? And there was a division among them." x. 19-21: "There arose a division again among the Jews because of these words. And many of them said, He hath a devil, and is mad; why hear ye him? Others said, These are not the sayings of one possessed with a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?" It is worthy of note that the Johannine variation from "the Pharisees and Sadducees" of the Synoptics, viz., "the chief priests and the Pharisees" (vii. 32; xi. 47, 57, &c.), finds its explanation in the fact (mentioned by Josephus, and implied in Acts v. 17) that the high priests belonged to the party of the Sadducees. Hence their unusual activity in consequence of the report that Lazarus had been raised from the dead (xii. 10), and their rudeness in debate, also mentioned by Josephus as characteristic of the Sadducees. xi. 49: "But a certain one of them, Caiaphas, being high priest that year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all."

¹ (See above.) This accounts sufficiently for the frequent allusions to "the Jews" without supposing that the writer was a foreigner, especially in a place like Ephesus, where the Jews were hostile to the Christian faith. Cf. Paul's allusion to them in 1 Thess. ii. 14-16.

² v. 2: "Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches." ix. 7: "And said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, Sent). He went away therefore, and washed, and came seeing." xi. 18: "Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off." xii. 12, 13: "A great multitude . . . took the branches of the palm trees" (cf. Matt. xxi. 8: "branches

from the trees"; Mark xi. 8: "branches, which they had cut from the fields"). xviii. 1: "When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Kidron, where was a garden, into the which he entered, himself and his disciples." 15: "And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. Now that disciple was known unto the high priest, and entered in with Jesus into the court of the high priest." xix. 13: "When Pilate therefore heard these words, he brought Jesus out, and sat down on the judgement-seat at a place called The Pavement, but in Hebrew, Gabbatha." 17: "And he went out, bearing the cross for himself, unto the place called The place of a skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha." 41: "Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new tomb wherein was never man yet laid." i. 28: "These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing." i. 44: "Now Philip was from Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Peter." ii. 1: "And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee." iii. 23: "And John also was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were baptized." iv. 5: "So he cometh to a city of Samaria, called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph." 11: "The well is deep." 20: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain." 35: "Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest? behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest." The depth of the well (fully 70 ft.), the proximity of Mount Gerizim, and the wide expanse of cornfields, are all examples of the writer's accuracy, as attested by the descriptions of modern travellers. xi. 54: "Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim."

(4) It is *circumstantial in many of its statements*, and graphic in its delineation of character, bearing the stamp of personal knowledge such as would be possessed by an *eye-witness*.¹

¹ Instances of minute detail are given below; but, speaking generally, we may say that it is to this Gospel we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the individualities of the apostles and other minor characters. Thomas, for example, would be to us merely a name, if it were not for what is recorded of him in this Gospel. The representation of Martha and Mary in chap. xi. fills up with marvellous delicacy the outline supplied by Luke x. 38-42; while in chap. ix. the character of the man born blind is evidently drawn from the life. i. 29: "On the morrow he seeth Jesus coming unto him." 35-43: "Again on the morrow John was standing, and two of his disciples; and he looked upon Jesus as he walked, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God! And the two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus. And Jesus turned, and beheld them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? And they said unto him, Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master), where abidest thou? He saith unto them, Come, and ye shall see. They came therefore and saw where he abode; and they abode with him that day: it was about the tenth hour. One of the two that heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He findeth first his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah (which is, being interpreted, Christ). He brought him unto Jesus. Jesus looked upon him, and said, Thou art Simon the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas (which is by interpretation, Peter). On the morrow he was minded to go forth into Galilee, and he findeth Philip: and Jesus saith unto him, Follow me." ii. 1: "And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee." 20: "The Jews therefore said, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?" [With the help of Josephus it can be shown that Herod's temple was commenced about A.U.C. 735, *i.e.* B.C. 18. St Luke tells us (iii. 1) that our Lord's Baptism took place about the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which was in 781-2 A.U.C., or 28-9 A.D.—being about 47 years later. As the conversa-

tion referred to probably took place at the ensuing Passover, we have practically confirmation of the cursory statement in the text.] iv. 6: "And Jacob's well was there. Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus by the well. It was about the sixth hour." iv. 40: "So when the Samaritans came unto him, they besought him to abide with them: and he abode there two days." 52: "So he inquired of them the hour when he began to amend. They said therefore unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him," vi. 16-24: (Circumstances of Christ's walking on the sea, and being sought by the multitude at Capernaum). x. 40: "And he went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John was at the first baptizing; and there he abode." xi. 6: "When therefore he heard that he was sick, he abode at that time two days in the place where he was." 39: "Jesus saith, Take ye away the stone, Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he stinketh: for he hath been dead four days." xii. 1: "Jesus therefore six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus raised from the dead." xviii. 10, 12, 13: "Simon Peter therefore having a sword drew it, and struck the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. Now the servant's name was Malchus. . . . So the band and the chief captain, and the officers of the Jews, seized Jesus and bound him, and led him to Annas first; for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, which was high priest that year." xviii. 26: "One of the servants of the high priest, being a kinsman of him whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him?" xix. 25: "But there were standing by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene," xx. 1-10: "Now on the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, while it was yet dark, unto the tomb, and seeth the stone taken away from the tomb. She runneth therefore, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of

(5) While written in Greek, it is *Hebraic in its style and structure*, abounding in parallels and contrasts¹ both in expression and arrangement, and being marked by great simplicity of syntax; and it frequently quotes from the Old Testament, sometimes directly from the Hebrew.²

All that can be alleged against the apostolic authorship of the fourth Gospel, on account of its marked divergence from the other Gospels in the representation of Christ's character and teaching, is sufficiently met by the fact that "the synoptical Gospels contain the Gospel of the infant Church; that of St John the Gospel in its maturity. The first combine to give the wide experience of the many; the last embraces the deep mysteries treasured up by the one."³

the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him. Peter therefore went forth, and the other disciple, and they went toward the tomb. And they ran both together: and the other disciple outran Peter, and came first to the tomb; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths lying; yet entered he not in. Simon Peter therefore also cometh, following him, and entered into the tomb; and he beholdeth the linen cloths lying, and the napkin, that was upon his head, not lying with the linen cloths, but rolled up in a place by itself. Then entered in therefore the other disciple also, which came first to the tomb, and he saw, and believed. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. So the disciples went away again unto their own home."

¹ *E.g.* there is a marked absence (as in Hebrew) of subordinate clauses. The usual conjunction is *καί* ("and"), corresponding to the Hebrew *ו*—variously translated in our English Version, to bring out more precisely the connection in each case. The author also explains various Hebrew words, *e.g.* "Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master)," "Messiah (which is, being interpreted, Christ)," "Cephas (which is by interpretation, Peter)" (i. 38, 41, 42). He also shows his knowledge of the Hebrew word *Iscariot* ("man of Kerioth") by applying the name not only to Judas himself (as in the other Gospels), but also to his father Simon (vi. 71, &c., R.V.), and alone

of the Evangelists he gives Peter's patronymic as "son of John" (i. 42, &c., R.V., instead of "Bar-Jonah," Matt. xvi. 17)—meaning, according to its Hebrew original (*Johanan*), "son of the grace of God"—which lends new significance to our Saviour's words in addressing Peter by this name on several important occasions (i. 42; xxi. 15-17; Matt. xvi. 17). In keeping with the Hebraic character of the book is the prominence of the sacred numbers, three and seven, *e.g.* three Passovers (ii. 13; vi. 4; xi. 55), three visits to Galilee, three sayings on the Cross; seven miracles, seven-fold testimony to Christ, seven-fold affirmation of His claim "I am" (see p. 74, notes 1, 2).

² *E.g.* xii. 13, where John (like Matthew xxi. 9) preserves the Hebrew "Hosanna" instead of adopting the *σῶσον δὴ* of the Septuagint (Ps. cxviii. 25). xiii. 18: "He that eateth my bread lifteth up his heel against me" (*ἐπ' ἔμ' ἐμέ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ*), being a quotation from Ps. xli. 9, which, in the Septuagint, however, reads differently, *viz.*, *ἐμεγαλύνει ἐπ' ἐμέ πτεριστὶν*. xix. 37: "They shall look on him whom they pierced" (*Ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*), being a quotation from Zech. xii. 10, which reads differently, however, in the Septuagint, *viz.*, *καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*.

³ Westcott's Introduction, chap. v. p. 253.

If we suppose the fourth Gospel to have been written about 85 A.D., an interval of more than half-a-century would thus have elapsed since the death of Christ. During that time Christianity had spread into many lands and furnished subjects for reflection to many minds, while the Jewish expectations and prejudices which had clung to many of the early members of the Church had been in a great measure dissipated by the fall of Jerusalem. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the truths of the Gospel should be viewed in new lights and assume more speculative forms; and in Ephesus, as the great meeting-place of Oriental mysticism and Greek philosophy, the deeper questions and more theological aspects of the new religion would naturally claim a large measure of attention.¹

We thus see that, as the other Gospels had reference to distinct types of thought for which they were severally adapted, so the fourth Gospel was designed to meet the demand for a more *intellectual* presentation of divine truth, which might serve as an antidote to the Gnostic speculations which were imperilling the recognition at one time of Christ's divinity, and at another time of His humanity. In God's providence a worthy exponent of this phase of the Gospel was found in the aged Apostle John, whose heart and mind had been so receptive of divine truth even in his youth as to win for him the place of closest fellowship with his Master, and who had since then enjoyed the teaching of the Holy Spirit for a longer period than any of his fellows, and amid more intellectual surroundings, and was thus singularly fitted for the great task which Providence had assigned to him.²

¹ Cf. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians. (Chaps. xv., xvi.).

² The higher social position, and, presumably, better education, of John and his brother (judging from his father's circumstances, his personal acquaintance with the high priest, and his mother's request for her two sons that they might sit the one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of the Saviour in His kingdom) are perhaps not without significance in this connec-

tion as helping to account for his wider intellectual sympathies, which fitted him to be "the Plato of the Twelve." How far he may have amplified some of our Saviour's great sayings, or combined words uttered on different occasions, it is difficult to say. But of his general fidelity as a reporter we need have no doubt when we bear in mind (1) the general precision and accuracy of his narrative in matters that admit of being verified; (2) the entire absence from the

2. *Date of Composition.*

85-90 A.D., as indicated above.

3. *Character and Contents.*

Many of the remarks that might have been made under this head have already found place in this chapter, and in the general discussion of the Gospels,¹ where a contrast is drawn between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel. On the whole, perhaps no fitter epithet can be found for this Gospel than that applied to it by Clement of Alexandria at the close of the second century, viz., the *spiritual* Gospel. It may also be described as the *doctrinal* or *theological*² Gospel. It represents Christ's person and work not with special reference to the Past, or the Present, or the Future; but generally with reference to *Eternity*, in which Past, Present, and Future are alike included.

Its great theme is set forth in the Prologue or Introduction,³ which strikes the keynote of the whole Gospel, representing Christ as the Manifestation of the divine Being, the only Source of life and light, in human form,⁴ and, as such, the object, on the one hand, of saving faith, and the occasion, on the other hand, of the world's unbelief. The whole book is an elaboration of this sublime thought, wrought out with a singular union of depth and simplicity, in close historical relation with the Lord's visits to *Jerusalem* at the national feasts, when He had occasion to press His claims, as the Revealer of the Father, upon the teachers of religion,

discourses he attributes to the Saviour of his own leading idea of the "Word," or Logos, so prominent in his introduction, and mentioned also in his First Epistle (i. 1), and Apocalypse (xix. 13); (3) the presence in the Synoptics of germs of thought that are more fully developed in the Fourth Gospel (Matt. xi. 25-30; xxii. 41-45; Luke x. 21, 22); and (4) the circumstantial account that is given of some of the discourses, with the misunderstandings and interruptions which took place in the course of them, (e.g. chap. viii.).

¹ Chap. ii.

² Hence the name *Theologus* applied to St. John.

³ i. 1-18.

⁴ i. 1: "the Word was God." i. 14: "the Word became flesh." It matters little how far the apostle was indebted to Philo or other philosophizing Jews for the use of the word "logos" as a term of theology. In any case, he gave the word an entirely new application by connecting it with the Incarnation, using it thus as a means of bringing God nearer in a personal sense, instead of speculating about Him in the region of an abstract theology.

in connection with the national expectation of the Messiah. This revelation, attested by various forms of divine witness-bearing,¹ and expressed in the language of many symbols,² may be said to reach a climax in the twelfth chapter: "These things spake Jesus, and he departed and hid himself from them. But though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him."³ The remainder of the book depicts, on the one hand, the downward course of the world's unbelief leading to the crucifixion, and on the other, the perfecting of the disciples' faith, which attains its final and typical expression in the slowly-matured but deep-rooted confession of the doubting Thomas, "My Lord and my God."⁴

As already indicated, the fourth Gospel contains very few incidents of the ministry in Galilee. In this respect, as well as in many of its unexplained allusions and remarkable omissions, it takes for granted acquaintance with the earlier Gospels.⁵ The matter it contains in common

¹ Westcott enumerates seven, viz. (1) the witness of the Father (v. 34, 37; viii. 18); (2) the witness of the Son (viii. 14; xviii. 37); (3) the witness of His works (x. 25; v. 36, &c.); (4) the witness of Scripture (v. 39-46); (5) the witness of the Forerunner (i. 7; v. 33); (6) the witness of the disciples (xv. 27; xix. 35); and (7) the witness of the Spirit (xv. 26; xvi. 14).

² Also seven in number, viz. ("I am"), "the bread of life," "the light of the world," "the door of the sheep," "the good shepherd," "the resurrection and the life," "the way," "the true vine" (Farrar).

³ xii. 36-40. The habitual use of the word "signs" (*σημεῖα*) or "works" (*ἔργα*)—instead of "mighty works" (*δυνάμεις*) or "wonders" (*τέρατα*)—to describe Christ's miracles, is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. The first name indicates (what the evangelist in several instances expressly brings out; vi. 48; ix. 39) that "what the Lord did corporeally He desired to be understood spiritually" (Augustine); the second represents a miracle as but the exercise and manifestation of an indwelling Divine power (x. 37, 38).

⁴ xx. 28. Other confessions of faith (in less degree) are peculiar to this Gospel, e.g. i. 29: "Behold the Lamb of God" (Baptist); i. 41: "We have found the Messiah" (Andrew); i. 49: "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God" (Nathanael); vii. 46: "Never man so spake" (officers); ix. 38: "Lord, I believe" (blind man); xi. 27: "I have believed that thou art the Christ, the Son of God" (Martha).

⁵ Many long intervals are passed over; e.g. between the feast of the Passover (vi. 4) and the feast of Tabernacles (vii. 2), during which time the evangelist expressly mentions that "Jesus walked in Galilee." Cf. i. 14: "And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us"—although the miraculous birth is not recorded. i. 32: "And John bare witness, saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon him,"—although Christ's baptism is not recorded. i. 40: "One of the two that heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother,"—although the latter is not previously mentioned. iii. 5: "Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the

with the three other Gospels is very limited in extent, but of the most profound significance, viz., the Miraculous Feeding of the Multitude, and the Death and Resurrection of Christ. A crucified and risen Saviour who can say of Himself, "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst,"¹—this is the essence of the four Gospels, as it is the essence of Christianity symbolised in the Lord's Supper; and the final object of the whole New Testament is summed up by the last of the apostles when he says, "These are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye may have life in his name."²

Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,"—although the institution of baptism is not recorded. iii. 13: "And no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, *even* the Son of man, which is in heaven;" vi. 62: "What then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before?"; xx. 17: "Jesus saith to her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended unto the Father: but go unto my brethren, and say to them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God,"—although Christ's Ascension is not recorded. iii. 24: "For John was not yet cast into prison,"—although no such imprisonment is recorded, (probably with reference to Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14). iv. 44: "For Jesus himself testified, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country," (probably with reference to Matt. xiii. 57; Mark vi. 4; Luke iv. 24). vi. 55: "For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed,"—although the institution of the Lord's Supper is not recorded. vi. 70: "Jesus answered them, Did not I choose you the twelve, and one of you is a devil?"—although the appointment of the twelve is not recorded. xi. 1: "Now a cer-

tain man was sick, Lazarus of Bethany, of the village of Mary and her sister Martha,"—although no such persons as Mary and Martha have yet been mentioned, (probably with reference to Luke x. 38-42). vii. 41, 42: "Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?"; vii. 52: "They answered and said unto him (*i.e.* Nicodemus), Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet;" i. 46: "And Nathanael said unto him, Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip saith unto him, Come and see." The objection thus variously stated admitted of a very simple but sufficient answer—that it was at Bethlehem Jesus was actually born. Yet this fact, so prominent in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, is neither recorded nor alluded to by this evangelist—evidently because it was so well known to his readers that it would have been superfluous to mention it.

¹ vi. 35.

² xx. 31.

CHAPTER VII.

"THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES."

1. *Authorship.*

THERE can be no doubt that the Book of Acts is from the same pen as the third Gospel. This is evident from the preface at the head of each book, and from the general similarity of their style and structure.

An attempt has been made, however, to raise a distinction, as regards authorship, between different portions of the book. There are certain passages whose genuineness has scarcely ever been disputed — those, namely, in which the writer uses *the first person plural*, as having been himself present on the occasions referred to.¹ It is generally acknowledged that these passages are the genuine work of a companion of the apostle. But by a certain school of critics the rest of the book has a very different character assigned to it. According to them, the "we" passages formed the original notes of an eye-witness, which were made use of by a subsequent writer in the second century, as the nucleus of a history in great part fictitious, which was designed to bridge over the gulf between Paul and the rest of the apostles.²

Even if this theory could be proved to be correct, it

¹ From these passages it appears that the writer joined Paul's company at Troas (xvi. 10), that he accompanied him to Philippi, where he was left behind when Paul departed to another city, that after an interval of six or seven years he rejoined the apostle on the latter's return to Philippi, and accompanied him on his last journey to Jerusa-

lem (xx. 5—xxi. 18), and afterwards from Cæsarea to Rome (xxvii. 1—xxviii. 16).

² For a refutation of this "Tübingen" theory of an irreconcilable antagonism between Paul as "the apostle of the Gentiles," and the original apostles, see (in this connection), Salmon's Introduction, 4th edition, pp. 330-8.

would not get rid of the supernatural element to which these critics have such an aversion, for in the passages thus admitted to be genuine there are statements that imply miraculous occurrences.¹

But in reality there is no sufficient evidence to warrant such a view. With regard to external testimony, we find in some of the earliest Christian writers (Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hermas, Justin Martyr, &c.), not a few expressions which seem to reproduce the language of this book—drawn not only from the “we” sections but from other parts of it as well.² The impression thus made upon us in favour of the book as it now stands is confirmed by finding it in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions and also in the Muratorian Canon.

But it is the *internal* character of the book that affords the best refutation of the theory in question. A minute and critical examination of the account of Paul’s missionary journeys before Luke joined him (Acts xiii., xiv.) has recently led an accomplished scholar and archæologist to the conclusion that it “is founded on, or perhaps actually incorporates, an account written down under the immediate influence of Paul himself.”³ Moreover, with a few exceptions, due to the variety of sources, oral or written, from which the author drew, the book has a *natural unity of diction and style* which forbids us to assign it to more than one author, and its several parts are so interlaced by *corre-*

¹ xvi. 18 (Paul casting out the spirit of divination at Philippi). xvi. 26: “And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison-house were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened; and every one’s bands were loosed.” xxviii. 8, 9: “And it was so, that the father of Publius lay sick of fever and dysentery: unto whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laying his hands on him healed him. And when this was done, the rest also which had diseases in the island came, and were cured.”

² *E.g.* in Clement’s 1 Ep. xviii. there is a reproduction of Acts xiii. 22, in its combination of 1 Sam. xiii. 14 and Ps.

lxxxix. 20, its addition of the phrase “son of Jesse,” and its allusion to the divine *testimony*. The resemblance is best seen by a comparison of the original in each case. *Τὶ δὲ εἰπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δαυεὶδ; πρὸς δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· “Εὗρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἐν ἡλείει αἰωνίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.”* (Cl. Ep. l. c. 18.)—*καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτόν, ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυεὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπε μαρτυρήσας, Εὗρον Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελημάτά μου.* (Acts xiii. 22.)

³ Professor Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 6.

sponding observations and allusions as to confirm us in the belief that it forms one consistent whole.¹

That it is a work of the first century is proved by the fact that it *does not contain the slightest allusion to St. Paul's epistles*. In the second century these epistles were so widely circulated that no historian giving a sketch of Paul's life-work could have passed them over in silence. But during the greater part of the period covered by the Book of Acts they were not yet in existence; and for some years they would be very little known except in the Churches to which they were addressed. There is no notice taken of them in the Book of Acts, nor any distinct echo of their teaching; while there is a remarkable absence of information on several important points mentioned in them, which would naturally have called for explanation had they been familiar to the writer of this book.²

But although there is no sign of acquaintance with the epistles themselves, there are, as we shall see when we come to deal with these writings, many "*undesigned coincidences*" between statements contained in them and

¹ Cf. xxi. 8: "And on the morrow we departed, and came unto Cæsarea: and entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven, we abode with him," with previous statements regarding Philip in (a) vi. 5: where he is mentioned as one of the "seven men" chosen, and (b) viii. 40 "But Philip was found at Azotus: and passing through he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea." Cf. xxii. 20: "And when the blood of Stephen thy witness was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting, and keeping the garments of them that slew him," with previous statements on this subject in (a) vii. 58: "And the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul," and (b) viii. 1: "And Saul was consenting unto his death." Cf. i. 5: "For John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence," with xi. 16: "And I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized

with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost," a saying of our Lord's being thus twice quoted, which does not occur in any of the four Gospels. Cf. (with reference to God's testimony in favour of the Gentiles in giving them the Holy Ghost) x. 47: "Can any man forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" and xv. 8: "And God, which knoweth the heart, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us." Cf. (with reference to Paul's stay at Tarsus after his conversion) ix. 30: "And when the brethren knew it, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus"; and xi. 25: "And he went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul."

² E.g. Gal. i. 17 (with reference to Paul's visit to Arabia); Gal. ii. 11 (Paul's controversy with Cephas, when he "resisted him to the face, because he stood condemned"; 2 Cor. xi. 24: "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one."

in the Book of Acts, which can only be accounted for by the fact that the writers in both cases were guided by a strict regard for truth.

It has also to be noted that while there is no sign of acquaintance with Paul's letters, there is in the speeches attributed to him *an admitted resemblance to his style and diction*, which is best accounted for by the writer's having been present at the delivery of the speeches, or having received an authentic report of them. It is interesting in this connection to observe that the speech which Paul delivered *in Hebrew* on the stairs of the castle in Jerusalem,¹ and which was no doubt translated into its present Greek form by Luke (judging from the number of Luke's favourite words to be found in it), is far *less Pauline* in character than the speech at Athens, which was *spoken in Greek*, and was in all probability *reported to Luke by Paul himself*.² We may add that this latter speech is not only Pauline in its diction, but reflects very plainly the apostle's training in the schools of Tarsus, where the Stoic philosophy was in great repute.³

We have a similar token of genuineness in the harmony between the *speeches of Peter* reported in this book and the first epistle written by that apostle.⁴

Of the writer's *accuracy* in matters of fact abundant evidence can be adduced. In *the titles which he gives to the magistrates* of the various cities he has occasion to mention, he is supported by the testimony of ancient writings, coins, and inscriptions, in a most remarkable

¹ xxii. 1-21.

² xvii. 22-31.

³ xvii. 26-28: "And he made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he is not far from each one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring."

⁴ Cf. ii. 23: "Him, being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye by the hands of

lawless men did crucify and slay"; and iv. 28: "To do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass," with 1 Pet. i. 1, 2: "Elect . . . according to the foreknowledge of God the Father," and i. 20: "Christ who was foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world." Cf. also Acts iv. 11: "He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, which was made the head of the corner," with 1 Pet. ii. 4-8: "Unto whom coming, a living stone, rejected indeed of men, but with God elect, precious," &c.

manner; *e.g.* the name of politarchs ("rulers of the city"), which he applies to the magistrates of Thessalonica, though otherwise unknown, has been discovered on an arch still in comparatively good preservation in the principal street of the city.¹ His many allusions also to *historical characters and conditions* that are otherwise known to us, are almost invariably found to be true to fact;² while the precision of his *nautical* expressions and minute *geographical* allusions in his account of Paul's voyage and shipwreck, has been found so remarkable as to form the subject of a special dissertation.³

As a last token of genuineness may be mentioned the fact that in the Book of Acts the positions taken up by

¹ xvii. 6. Similar instances are found at xiii. 7: "with the proconsul" (τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ), a title which can be proved from Strabo and Dion Cassius, as well as from inscriptions, to have been borne by the governor of Cyprus at the time referred to; xvi. 20: "unto the magistrates," a name which in the original (τοῖς στρατηγοῖς) is suspiciously grand for the rulers of Philippi to possess, but which, Cicero tells us, was claimed by a provincial city in Italy (Capua), in its Latin form (prætores); xviii. 12: "But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia" (ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος), a title which would have been inaccurate in the reign of Tiberius or Nero, but was correct at the time referred to, viz., the reign of Claudius; xxviii. 7: "The chief man (τῷ πρώτῳ) of the island (of Melita)," an unusual designation, but confirmed in this case by inscriptions; xvi. 12: "Philippi, a Roman colony," a statement confirmed by Dion Cassius.

² *E.g.* in his references to Gamaliel, Herod Agrippa I., Agrippa II. and his sisters Berenice and Drusilla, the governor Felix, Gallio (brother of Seneca), the famine and expulsion of the Jews in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, the dyeing trade of Thyatira, the classical legends and native speech of Lycaonia, the magical arts and idolatrous usages of Ephesus, with its public buildings and municipal institutions, with regard to which modern excavations have confirmed many minute allusions in the Book of Acts. Referring

to the story of the tumult in the temple of Diana, Professor Ramsay says, "There is only one way of interpreting it, and that is as embodying almost, if not absolutely, *verbatim*, the words of an eye-witness." The same writer finds in the language of xiv. 6, "they fled unto the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe" (*i.e.* from Iconium), a remarkable evidence of sympathy with local feeling; for, while Iconium had itself become a city of Lycaonia long before the apostle's day, its inhabitants, as we learn from one or two casual references in later writings, still claimed to be Phrygians, and would naturally use such language as is here reproduced, in directing Paul to Lystra and Derbe. Professor Ramsay also finds in the apostle's experiences at these and other cities of Asia Minor, subtle traits of harmony with the laws and customs of the period in that part of the Roman empire. He further remarks that the importance assigned to the south Galatian Churches, in chaps. xiii., xiv., "is historically true to the period 48-64 A.D. and not to later time"; and, referring to the mention of "the devout women of honourable estate" at Antioch (xiii. 50), he says, "The honours and influence which belonged to women in the cities of Asia Minor form one of the most remarkable features in the history of the country."

³ "Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul." By James Smith, Esq., F.R.S., of Jordanhill.

the Pharisees and Sadducees respectively with reference to Christ's cause are almost *the reverse of what they are in the Gospel*. This change of attitude was due to the apostles' preaching of the Resurrection, after their Master's departure, which was fitted to give offence to the Sadducees alone; but it is a circumstance which only a contemporary would have been likely to realise and represent in such a vivid manner.¹

2. *Date of Composition.*

With regard to the date of its composition, its abrupt termination—leaving us in ignorance of Paul's fate, and of his subsequent labours (if he was set free from his imprisonment at Rome)—has led some to suppose that the author brought up his narrative to the very moment when he closed the book and despatched it to his friend Theophilus. In that case it must have left the writer's hands about 63 A.D. But it may be that the work was broken off owing to Luke's death, or he may have had it in view to complete his narrative in another volume, or he may have felt it dangerous to go farther. Yet another view is that the apostle's preaching at Rome was purposely selected by the writer as a suitable finish to his narrative of the Church's progress. On the whole, we may be content with the assurance that it was written by a contemporary and companion of the apostle.

3. *Character and Contents.*

The *keynote* of the book is struck in the commission given by the risen Lord to His apostles: "Ye shall receive

¹ iv. 1-3: "And as they (*i.e.* the apostles) spake unto the people, the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees came upon them, being sore troubled because they taught the people, and proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from the dead. And they laid hands on them, and put them in ward unto the morrow: for it was now even-tide"; v. 17-40: "But the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and they were filled with jealousy, and laid hands on the apostles,

and put them in public ward. . . . But there stood up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel. . . . And he said unto them. . . . Refrain from these men, and let them alone"; xv. 5: "Certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed"; xxiii. 6-10: ". . . there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and Sadducees: and the assembly was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both. . . ."

power, when the Holy Ghost is come upon you : and ye shall be my witnesses, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."¹ The entire book records the fulfilment of this prophecy. It may be roughly divided into three parts, corresponding to the widening spheres of labour which were thus indicated—"Jerusalem" (i.13—vii.); "all Judæa and Samaria" (viii.—ix.); "unto the uttermost part of the earth" (x.—xxviii.). Each of the three is marked by a notable outpouring of the Holy Spirit.²

Throughout the whole narrative *prominence is given to the Lord Jesus Christ* as the subject of apostolic testimony,³ as the bestower of the Holy Spirit with miraculous gifts, and divine guidance,⁴ as personally visible to the martyr Stephen,⁵ and as the personal agent in Paul's conversion.⁶

¹ i. 8.

² ii. 1-4 (in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost); viii. 17 (in Samaria by the hands of Peter and John); x. 44-48 (in Caesarea, on the preaching of the Gospel to the Roman centurion).

³ ii. 32: "This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we all are witnesses" (Peter's address on day of Pentecost); iii. 13-15: "The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Servant Jesus; whom ye delivered up, and denied before the face of Pilate, when he had determined to release him. But ye denied the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of life; whom God raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses" (Peter's speech in the temple); v. 30-32: "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins. And we are witnesses of these things; and so is the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to them that obey him" (Peter and the apostles before the Jewish council); v. 42: "And every day, in the temple and at home, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus as the Christ"; viii. 5: "And Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and proclaimed unto them the Christ"; x. 36-42: "The word which he sent unto

the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all). . . ." (Peter's address at Caesarea).

⁴ ii. 33: "Being therefore by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he (Jesus) hath poured forth this, which ye see and hear"; iii. 16: "And by faith in his (Jesus') name hath his name made this man strong, whom ye behold and know: yea, the faith which is through him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all"; ix. 34: "And Peter said unto him, Æneas, Jesus Christ healeth thee: arise, and make thy bed"; i. 24: "And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew of these two the one whom thou hast chosen"; x. 19, 20: "And while Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him, Behold, three men seek thee. But arise, and get thee down, and go with them, nothing doubting: for I have sent them"; xvi. 6-10: "And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia. . . ."

⁵ vii. 56: "And (Stephen) said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God."

⁶ ix. 3-6: ". . . Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I

There is great significance in the description of Luke's Gospel, given in the opening verse of this book, as a treatise "concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day in which he was received up." The position of the word "began" is very emphatic in the original, as if to imply that the Acts of the Apostles formed *a continuation of Christ's work*. The writer conceives of Him as still carrying on His work in virtue of His Resurrection and Ascension; and in the introduction to the book he refers to these events as well as to the prediction of His second Advent.¹

The continuity of the divine work is indeed *the ruling idea* of the whole book. The Gospel kingdom is described as advancing steadily onwards, beginning at Jerusalem (in the same upper room, perhaps, as had been the scene of the Last Supper),² and extending finally to Rome, the great metropolis of the Gentiles. More than half the book is devoted to the labours of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and three of his missionary journeys are recorded³—with Antioch for his headquarters, where the "disciples were first called Christians."⁴

am Jesus whom thou persecutest: but rise, and enter into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do."

¹ i. 1-11: "The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day in which he was received up, after that he had given commandment through the Holy Ghost unto the apostles whom he had chosen: to whom he also shewed himself alive after his Passion by many proofs, appearing unto them by the space of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God: and, being assembled together with them, he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, said he, ye heard from me: . . . And while they were looking stedfastly into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking into heaven? this Jesus, which was received up from you into heaven, shall

so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven."

² i. 13: "And when they were come in, they went up into the upper chamber, where they were abiding"; Luke xxii. 12, 13: "And he will shew you a large upper room furnished: there make ready. And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover."

³ (1) xiii. xiv.; (2) xv. 36—xviii. 22; (3) xviii. 23—xxi. 17.

⁴ xi. 26. The name *Χριστιανός* (Christian), it has been observed, is symbolic of the catholic nature of the Christian religion, being derived originally from the Hebrew word *מָשִׁיחַ* (Messiah—the Anointed) translated into the Greek *Χριστός* (Christ), and being connected with the Roman world by its *Latin* termination. We have an interesting coincidence in the fact that the title which was put upon the Cross "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews" "was written in Hebrew, and in Latin, and in Greek" (John xix. 19, 20).

Of necessity it is a mere *selection* of incidents that is given, both as regards the labours of Paul,¹ and the history of the Church during the thirty-three years or more over which the book extends. The selection was no doubt determined partly by the information which Luke had gathered from his own observation as an eye-witness or from trustworthy reporters,² and partly by the great object he had in view, namely, to trace the gradual expansion of the Church from its first beginnings³ as a seeming phase of Judaism to its full development as a catholic communion, in which there was to be no distinction between Jew and Gentile and where the Law, on which the former prided himself so greatly, was to be superseded by the *grace*⁴ of God freely offered in the Gospel.

¹ Cf. the apostle's enumeration of his trials and vicissitudes in 2 Cor. xi. 24-27.

² E.g. the account of the mission in Samaria and elsewhere in chap. viii. would, no doubt, be mainly derived from Philip, with whom the writer (xxi. 8-10) had spent many days at Cæsarea, which had also been the scene of the notable events relating to the admission of Cornelius the centurion, recorded in chap. x.

³ "It tells us of the first apostolic miracle; the first apostolic sermon; the first beginnings of ecclesiastical organisation; the first persecution; the first martyr; the first Gentile convert; the first ecclesiastical synod; the first mission journey; the first European church." (Farrar, *Messages of the Books*).

⁴ *χάρις*, a favourite word both with St. Luke and St. Paul. It occurs sixteen times in this book.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISTLES.

1. *The Epistles in general.*

ONE of the distinguishing characteristics of the New Testament as compared with all other sacred books in the world is the *epistolary* character of a large part of its contents.

It contains twenty-one letters by six different authors. Nine of these are addressed to individual Churches, viz., 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians, Colossians, 2 John (see chap. xxiii.); five to private persons, viz., Philemon, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, 3 John; and two to Hebrew Christians, viz., Hebrews and James; the remaining five being of a more or less general nature, viz., Ephesians (see chap. xvi.), 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, and Jude.

Besides these, we have reason to believe from the nature of the case¹ as well as from special allusions, that there were *other apostolic letters which have not been preserved*.² That Providence should have suffered such inspired writings to perish is in no degree more remarkable than that so many of our Lord's own words should have passed into oblivion; and we can readily understand that during the apostle's lifetime their letters were less prized than after their death, when the loss of any of their writings was seen to be irreparable.

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 28: "Beside those things that are without, there is that which presseth upon me daily, anxiety for all the churches."

² 1 Cor. v. 9: "I wrote unto you in my epistle. . . ." 2 Thess. iii. 17: "The salutation of me Paul with mine

own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write." This gives the impression that the apostle had already written a number of epistles, although we know of none but 1 Thess. But another explanation is possible (see p. 100, note 1).

Although most of the epistles were written at an earlier period than the Gospels, they represent in general *a more advanced stage of Christian theology*. In the epistles we have the fruits of twenty or thirty years' reflection on the great facts and elementary truths contained in the Synoptical Gospels, viewed in the light of Christian experience and under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, taking of the things that are Christ's and showing them to the Church. To the epistles we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of Christian doctrine on such subjects as the Trinity, the relations of Christ to the human race and to His Church, the Atonement, Justification by Faith, and Sanctification by the Holy Spirit.

But while largely doctrinal in character, most of the epistles differ very considerably from formal treatises, being enlivened with personal allusions, and dealing largely with questions of a practical nature.

2. *The Epistles of St. Paul.*

The remark just made applies specially to the epistles of Paul, which had their rise not in abstract speculations, but in the special needs and circumstances of the various Churches to which they were addressed. They are filled with the living personality of the writer, and lay hold so vividly upon the reader's sympathies, that they have been described by Luther as "not mere dead words, but living creatures with hands and feet."

They are thirteen in number. Their composition ranges over a period of about fifteen years, the earliest of them (1 and 2 Thessalonians) having been written about 53 A.D., sixteen years after the apostle's conversion; the last of them (the pastoral epistles to Titus and Timothy) very near the close of his life, approaching 68 A.D.

In the interval were produced two other groups of epistles—those designed to vindicate Paul's apostolic authority, and preserve the Gospel from the inroads of Judaism, viz., 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans

(written during his third missionary journey, about 57-58 A.D.), and the Epistles of the Imprisonment, viz., Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians, written from Rome about 62-63 A.D.

The most of them were probably collected and in more or less general use in the Church within a short time after the apostle's death, as we may infer from the traces of them to be found in the writings of Clement of Rome (95 A.D.), Ignatius (died 110-15 A.D.), and Polycarp (died 155 A.D.).

In our New Testament the Pauline epistles are arranged according to their length and importance, but there is an obvious advantage in studying them in their *chronological order*, as it enables us to trace the progressive development of the apostle's theology and the growth of his literary style, as well as to realise the circumstances out of which the epistles successively arose.

It is a circumstance worth noting as an explanation in some measure of the occasional abruptness and irregularity of the apostle's style (and perhaps of its vivacity), that his letters were usually *written by an amanuensis to dictation*, —the salutation only being written with his own hand, as a token of genuineness.¹

3. *The undisputed Epistles of St Paul.*

1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians have the distinction of being almost universally admitted to be genuine writings of Paul.

This admission is a most important one from an *evidential* point of view, as these epistles form a valuable historical link between the earliest preaching of the apostles and the composition of our four Gospels. They contain a

¹ Cf. Rom. xvi. 22: "I Tertius, who write the epistle, salute you in the Lord"; 1 Cor. xvi. 21 and Col. iv. 18: "The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand"; Gal. vi. 11: "See with how large letters I have written unto you with

mine own hand"; 2 Thess. iii. 17: "The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write"; Philemon, ver. 19: "I Paul write it with mine own hand, I will repay it."

great many references to detailed matters of fact mentioned in the Gospels,¹ and prove that the story of Christ's death

¹ *E.g.* (1) Christ's *divine incarnation*; Rom. i. 3, 4: "his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead; even Jesus Christ our Lord"; Rom. viii. 3: "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh"; Rom. ix. 5: "Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen"; 1 Cor. viii. 6: "Yet to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him"; *cf.* ver. 12: "And thus, sinning against the brethren, and wounding their conscience when it is weak, ye sin against Christ"; Gal. iv. 4: "But when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman." (2) His *meek and lowly life*; Rom. xv. 3: "For Christ also pleased not himself; but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me"; 2 Cor. viii. 9: "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich"; 2 Cor. x. 1: "Now I Paul myself intreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ"; Gal. iv. 4: "Born under the law." (3) His *appointment of apostles*; Rom. i. 5: "Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we received grace and apostleship, unto obedience of faith among all the nations, for his name's sake"; 1 Cor. i. 1: "Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God"; 1 Cor. xv. 5: "And that he appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve"; Gal. i. 18, 19: "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother"; Gal. ii. 9: "James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars." (4) His *betrayal*; 1 Cor. xi. 23: "The Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed." (5) His institution (*a*) of the Lord's Supper; 1 Cor. xi. 23-26:

(p. 89, note 1); 1 Cor. x. 16: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" (b) of *Baptism*; Rom. vi. 3, 4: "Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life"; 1 Cor. i. 13-15: "Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you, save Crispus and Gaius; lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name"; Gal. iii. 27: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ"; (c) of *Preaching*; 1 Cor. i. 17: "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel"; 1 Cor. ix. 14: "Even so did the Lord ordain that they which proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel"; *cf.* Luke x. 7: "The labourer is worthy of his hire"; Rom. i. 9: "For God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel of his Son, how unceasingly I make mention of you, always in my prayers making request." (6) His *crucifixion*; 1 Cor. i. 23: "We preach Christ crucified"; 1 Cor. ii. 2: "Jesus Christ, and him crucified"; 1 Cor. ii. 8: (a mystery) "which none of the rulers of this world knoweth: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory"; 1 Cor. v. 7: "For our pass-over also hath been sacrificed, even Christ"; Gal. iii. 13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." (7) His *resurrection* and subsequent appearances; 1 Cor. xv. 1-20: (for vers. 1-4 see p. 85, note 1); 5-7: "He appeared to Cephas (*cf.* Luke xxiv. 34): then to the twelve (*cf.* John xx. 19) . . . then to all the apostles" (*cf.* Acts i. 3). (8) His *ascension*; Rom. viii. 34: "It is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also

and resurrection, as told in the four Gospels, was the chief theme of Paul's preaching.¹

With regard to *our Lord's resurrection in particular*, they prove that event to have been generally believed in by the Church in St Paul's time, and to have been from the first the basis of the apostle's preaching.² They also imply the exercise of *supernatural powers* by the apostle himself,

maketh intercession for us"; and (9) His *reign*; 1 Cor. i. 2, 3: "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, even them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours: Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"; Rom. xiv. 9: "For to this end Christ died, and lived again, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living."

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 1-4: "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, wherein also ye stand, by which also ye are saved; I make known, I say, in what words I preached it unto you, if ye hold it fast, except ye believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures;" 1 Cor. xi. 23-26: "For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come"; Rom. vi. 8-11: "But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him; knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death no more hath dominion over him. For the death that he died, he died unto sin once: but the life that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus"; Rom. viii. 34: "Who is he that shall condemn? It is

Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us"; x. 9: "Because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved"; xiv. 9: "For to this end Christ died, and lived again, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living"; 2 Cor. v. 14, 15: "For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that one died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again"; Gal. iii. 1: "O foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified?"

² 1 Cor. xv. 1-4 (quoted above, note 1). vv. 12-17: "Now if Christ is preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised: and if Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we witnessed of God that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead are not raised. For if the dead are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised: and if Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins"; 2 Cor. iv. 14: "Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus, and shall present us with you"; Rom. i. 4, 5: "Who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead; even Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we received grace and apostleship, unto obedience of faith among all the nations, for his name's sake"; Rom. iv. 24: "But for our sake also, unto whom it shall be reckoned,

as a fact generally admitted and not likely to be called in question even by those who were opposed to him,¹ and they show the existence in the Church of *spiritual gifts* on a large scale and with many well-defined variations, that were commonly regarded as the result of supernatural influence.²

We are thus in a great measure independent of the four Gospels for our knowledge of the original truths and principles of Christianity; and we have in the epistles a practical *refutation of the mythical theories* which would attribute the supernatural elements in our Gospels to the gradual growth of legend in the Church.

The evidence derived from the epistles is all the more valuable because it is *indirect*, the letters having manifestly been written without any such object in view. It has to be noted too that they are addressed to several independent communities far removed from one another. One of these communities (the Church in Rome) had received its Christianity from another source than the apostle, while in the two others (Corinth and Galatia) there were opponents

who believe on him that raised Jesus our Lord from the dead"; Rom. vi. 4: "We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life"; Gal. i. 1: "Paul, an apostle (not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead)".

¹ Rom. xv. 18, 19: "For I will not dare to speak of any things save those which Christ wrought through me, for the obedience of the Gentiles, by word and deed, in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Ghost; so that from Jerusalem, and round about even unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ"; 2 Cor. xii. 11-13: "I am become foolish: ye compelled me; for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing was I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I am nothing. Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, by signs and wonders and mighty works.

For what is there wherein ye were made inferior to the rest of the churches, except it be that I myself was not a burden to you? forgive me this wrong"; Gal. iii. 5: "He therefore that supplieth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" It may be doubted whether the apostle is here alluding to himself, but at all events his mode of expression shows that he did not expect the supernatural facts referred to would for a moment be disputed.

² 1 Cor. xii-xiv.: "... For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit: to another faith, in the same Spirit; and to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit; and to another workings of miracles; and to another prophecy; and to another discernings of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; and to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will. . . ."

to criticise his statements, as well as friends to sympathise with him. In these circumstances falsehood or error with reference to important matters of fact was extremely improbable. To this we may add that the letters are evidently the productions of a man whose sincerity is as great as his intellectual acuteness and sobriety of judgment, and who, from his early association with the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem, was in a position to know all that could be said against the alleged facts of Christianity.

Altogether, it is not too much to say, that a study of these epistles leads inevitably to the conclusion that Paul's gospel had *the same historical groundwork* as the Gospel preached at the present day—that groundwork consisting of the same essential and well-attested facts regarding Christ's life and teaching as we find recorded in the four Gospels.

4. *St. Paul's previous History.*

Regarding the previous life of the author, the following brief statement may suffice. Paul (originally called Saul) was born within a few years after our Lord's nativity, in the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, a famous seat of classical learning. His father, though a Roman citizen, was of Hebrew descent, and brought up his son in the strictest observance of the Jewish law. Trained at Jerusalem under the renowned Pharisaic teacher Gamaliel, Saul became thoroughly versed in Rabbinical literature, and was equally distinguished for his learning and his zeal. He was among the earliest and fiercest persecutors of the Christians, whom he regarded as apostates from the religion of their fathers; and it was while he was on his way to Damascus in the execution of a warrant from the high priest that he was suddenly converted (about 37 A.D.) by the direct interposition of the risen Christ. From Him he received a special commission to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and in His service he continued with unflinching courage and devotion, in spite of calumny and persecu-

tion, to the last hour of his life. After about eight years, spent partly in retirement, partly in preaching in Syria and Cilicia, he joined (about 44 A.D.) his old friend Barnabas, a liberal-minded apostle, at Antioch, which was soon to become the great centre of missionary enterprise for the early Church. In company with Barnabas, Paul made his first missionary journey (about 48 A.D.), through Cyprus and part of Asia Minor, and attended the Council at Jerusalem (about 50 A.D.), to advocate the cause of the Gentile converts in their struggle against the bigotry of their Jewish brethren. In the following year he started on his second and more extensive missionary tour, in the course of which, under the divine guidance, he crossed over to Europe, founding a number of Churches there, among others that of Thessalonica. He reached Corinth in 52 A.D., from which, as we shall presently see, he wrote the first of his epistles that have been preserved to us, namely 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

CHAPTER IX.

I AND 2 THESSALONIANS.

"THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS."

1. *Authorship.*

THERE is ample external evidence to prove that this epistle was acknowledged to be a genuine writing of St Paul in the second quarter of the second century,¹ while expressions apparently borrowed from it are to be found in writings of a still earlier date.²

The few critics, headed by Baur, who have called its genuineness in question, have done so on internal grounds, alleging against it both its likeness and its unlikeness to the other epistles of Paul. But its *unlikeness* is satisfactorily accounted for by the comparatively early date of its composition, and the very exceptional nature of the occasion on which it was written; while its *likeness* is largely due to the habit of repetition which is a marked characteristic of the apostle, and, in particular, to the germination, at this early period, of ideas more fully developed in his subsequent writings.³ Moreover, the resemblance between this and other writings of St Paul is often so subtle and minute—depending on *the play of personal feeling* and affection for his converts,⁴ or on

¹ It is expressly quoted by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian; was acknowledged by Marcion; and has a place in the Muratorian Canon, and the Old Latin and Syriac Versions.

² Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

³ Compare, for example, v. 8: "But let us, since we are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and

love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation," with the description of the Christian panoply in Eph. vi. 13-17; also the apostle's allusion to his self-denial in waiving his apostolic rights in ii. 5-9, with the fuller assertion of these rights in 1 Cor. ix., &c.

⁴ E.g. ii. 17-20: "But we, brethren, being bereaved of you for a short season, in presence, not in heart, en-

characteristic *peculiarities of style*,¹—as to preclude the idea of forgery.

The language of the epistle with reference to *the second coming of Christ* is also at variance with the supposition of forgery. It seems to imply an expectation on the part of the apostle that he would live to see that event.² But such an expectation was not likely to be introduced by a forger when it had already been falsified by the apostle's death,—as it must have been, long before forgery could have been successfully attempted. In this connection we may also

deavoured the more exceedingly to see your face with great desire: because we would fain have come unto you, I Paul once and again; and Satan hindered us. For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of glorying? Are not even ye, before our Lord Jesus at his coming? For ye are our glory and our joy." *Cf.* Rom. i. 13; 2 Cor. i. 15, 16, vii. 5-7; Phil. ii. 27, 28.

¹ *E.g.* (1) a cursory sequence of thought by which one verse or expression seems to grow spontaneously out of another, without any logical arrangement on the part of the writer, who has to come back from time to time to the main point from which he had digressed, resuming sometimes the very phrase he had used at the point of departure. Of this tendency to "go off at a word" which Paley observed to be characteristic of St Paul (*Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. vi. No. 3) we have many instances, more or less marked, in this epistle, as in i. 2-9 (*cf.* Ephes. i. 3-14), iii. 1-5. (2) The combination of seeming contraries; i. 6 ("having received the word in much *affliction*, with *joy* of the Holy Ghost"), *cf.* 2 Cor. vii. 10: "For godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation, a repentance which bringeth no regret"; 2 Cor. viii. 2: "in much proof of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality"; Col. i. 11: "unto all patience and long-suffering with joy." (3) Verbal and Prepositional contrasts, with frequent conjunction of Negative and Positive; i. 5: "how that our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; even as ye know what manner of men we shewed ourselves toward you for your sake" (*ἐν ὑμῖν*

δι' ὑμᾶς); ii. 4: "For our exhortation is not of error, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile" (*οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης, οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας, οὐδὲ ἐν δόλῳ*); ii. 17: "being bereaved of you for a short season, in presence, not in heart" (*προσώπῳ οὐ καρδίᾳ*); iv. 7: "For God called us not for uncleanness, but in sanctification" (*οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσία ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*); *cf.* 1 Cor. iv. 6: "that no one of you be puffed up for the one against the other" (*ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου*); ver. 10: "We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ" (*ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστὸν, ὑμεῖς δὲ φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ*); ver. 19: "I will know, not the word of them which are puffed up, but the power"; 1 Cor. v. 3: For I verily, being absent in body but present in spirit"; 1 Cor. viii. 6: "of whom are all things, and we unto him" (*ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν*); 2 Cor. v. 12: "them that glory in appearance, and not in heart" (*τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ*). (For a full discussion of the genuineness of this epistle, *see* Jowett, Vol. i. pp. 15-26.)

² iv. 15-17: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

note the *apparent discrepancy* between the statements in the Book of Acts and in this epistle, regarding the movements of Timothy,¹ into which a forger depending for his information on the Book of Acts, would not have been likely to fall, and which can only be accounted for by supposing a journey of Timothy (from Athens or Berea to Thessalonica) left unrecorded in the Book of Acts. There is a similar discrepancy between chapter i. 9, which speaks of the converts as having "turned from idols," and Acts xvii. 4, as the latter would lead us to suppose that the Church of Thessalonica was largely composed of Jews and proselytes.² In the second chapter (vers. 17, 18) there is a reference to the apostle's disappointment in not being able to carry out his intention of revisiting his converts, but such an intention is nowhere mentioned in the Book of Acts. All the three variations may be regarded as a proof that the epistle was written *independently of the Acts*, and that their general harmony is due to their common fidelity to facts.

2. *The Readers.*

"Unto the Church of the Thessalonians." Thessalonica was then, as it is still (under the name of Saloniki), an important mercantile emporium, at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, with a considerable proportion of Jewish inhabitants sharing in its general prosperity. It is now the second city of European Turkey; in the time of the apostle it was the capital of Macedonia. It lay in the neighbourhood of

¹ Acts xvii. 15, 16: "But they that conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens: and receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timothy that they should come to him with all speed, they departed. Now while Paul waited for them at Athens"; Acts xviii. 1: "After these things he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth"; 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2: "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone; and sent Timothy, our brother and God's minister in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith."

² "And some of them were persuaded, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few." The difficulty may be met by adopting a reading that is found in some MSS., and is followed in the Vulgate, namely, "of the devout (*i.e.*, proselytes) and the Greeks a great multitude," τῶν τε σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, (*cf.* ver. 17. τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις); or by supposing that the apostle preached to the Gentiles after the three Sabbath days mentioned in Acts xvii. 2.

Mount Olympus, the fabled home of the gods, and was a place of exile for Cicero, who tells how he gazed up at the sacred summit, but saw nothing save snow and ice.

The Church of Thessalonica was planted by St Paul in the course of his second missionary tour in 52 A.D.,¹ after his memorable visit to Philippi. His stay in the city seems to have been short, owing to a rising of the mob, stirred up against him by the Jews; but it was long enough for the Philippians to send "once and again" unto his need.² Previously he had been earning his own bread,³ doubtless in the exercise of his calling as tent-maker,⁴ as "one of the staple manufactures of the city was and is goats'-hair cloth. The sound that follows the ear as one walks through the streets of Saloniki to-day is the wheezing and straining vibration of the loom and the pendulum-like click of the regular and ceaseless shuttle." Paul paid a second visit to the place shortly before his last journey to Jerusalem. The Church was mainly Gentile in its composition, as we may infer not only from its members having "turned unto God from idols,"⁵ but also from the fact that the epistles addressed to it do not contain a single quotation from the Old Testament.

Thessalonica played a great part in the history of Christendom, as a bulwark against the Turks, whence it was known as the Orthodox city. Its modern population (about 90,000) consists chiefly of Mohammedans and Jews, and includes but a small number of Christians.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

From the epistle itself we learn that it was written on the return of Timothy, whom Paul had sent (apparently from Athens) to revisit the Thessalonian Church.⁶ But the

¹ Acts xvii. 1-II.

² Phil. iv. 16.

³ ii. 9: "For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail: working night and day, that we might not burden any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God"; 2 Thess. iii. 7, 8.

⁴ Acts xviii. 3.

⁵ i. 9.

⁶ iii. 1-9: "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone; and sent Timothy, our brother and God's minister in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith. . . . But when

Book of Acts¹ informs us that Silas and Timothy rejoined the apostle during his stay of a year and a half at Corinth. We conclude therefore that the epistle was written from that city,—not long after the apostle's arrival, as we may infer from his language in ii. 17: "But we, brethren, being bereaved of you for a short season, in presence, not in heart."² This would be about 53 A.D., probably early in that year.

4. *Character and Contents.*

This epistle is an *outpouring of the apostle's feelings* towards a Church whose hearty reception of the Gospel was to him a matter of constant gratitude to God,³ from which he had been reluctantly separated,⁴ whose reputation, owing to the constant traffic of the city both by land and sea, had already spread far and wide,⁵ and of whose patience and constancy he had received a gratifying report from Timothy.⁶ It contains also a *vindication of his own character* from the aspersions of the Jews, who were imputing to him the basest motives, and seem in particular to have put a bad construction on his sudden departure from the city. In refutation of these calumnies Paul appeals to the ex-

Timothy came even now unto us from you, and brought us glad tidings of your faith and love, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, longing to see us, even as we also to see you; for this cause, brethren, we were comforted over you in all our distress and affliction through your faith: for now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord. For what thanksgiving can we render again unto God for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy for your sakes before our God."

¹ xviii. 5.

² The treatment he was then receiving from the Jews, as well as his experience in Thessalonica, would account for his language in ii. 15, 16: "Who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drave out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved; to fill up their sins alway."

³ i. 2-6: "We give thanks to God

always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; remembering without ceasing your work of faith and labour of love and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, before our God and Father; knowing, brethren beloved of God, your election, how that our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; even as ye know what manner of men we shewed ourselves toward you for your sake. And ye became imitators of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost."

⁴ ii. 17 (quoted p. 93, note 4); iii. 1, 2, (quoted p. 96, note 6).

⁵ i. 8: "For from you hath sounded forth the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith to God-ward is gone forth; so that we need not to speak any thing."

⁶ iii. 6-9 (quoted p. 96, note 6).

perience his converts had of his life and conduct while he was with them, and to the salutary effects of his preaching.¹ After telling of the yearning anxiety he had felt on their account, and of the joy which Timothy's report had afforded him, he *prays* that God would grant a fulfilment of the desire, which he feels intensely, to revisit them for the perfecting of "that which is lacking in (their) faith," and that meanwhile their spiritual life may be developed and strengthened.² With this view he *exhorts* them to the cultivation of certain virtues—purity, brotherly love, industry—which they were in danger of neglecting.³

The characteristic feature of this epistle, however, as of that which follows, is the prominence it gives to *Christ's Second Coming*.⁴ This had been a main theme of Paul's preaching when he was in Thessalonica,⁵ and it had so taken possession of his hearers that the bereavements they had suffered by the death of relatives since the apostle left them, were chiefly mourned because they thought the departed friends would have no share in the glory of the Saviour's Advent. The comfort which Paul administers when he assures his converts that their fears in this matter are groundless, gives one the idea that he

¹ Chap. ii.

² ii. 10-13.

³ iv. 1-8; 9, 10; II, 12.

⁴ The *Death* of Christ is only once referred to, viz., in v. 9, 10: "For God appointed us not unto wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him." It was only at a later period, when the Church was invaded by the legalism of the Jewish Christians, that the doctrinal aspects of the Cross were fully brought out. In the meantime it was the Messiahship of Jesus that had to be proclaimed as the primary truth of Christianity, in opposition to the unbelief of the Jews; the Second Coming to "judge the world in righteousness" being one of its most striking and important features; cf. Acts xvii. 1-3: "Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews: and Paul, as his

custom was, went in unto them, and for three sabbath days reasoned with them from the scriptures, opening and alleging, that it behoved the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom, said he, I proclaim unto you, is the Christ"; xvii. 31 (at Athens): "Inasmuch as he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead."

⁵ i. 9, 10: "how ye turned unto God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven"; ii. 12: "to the end that ye should walk worthily of God, who calleth you into his own kingdom and glory"; cf. Acts xvii. 7: "and these all act contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus."

expected Christ to come *in his own lifetime*.¹ In this respect the language of this epistle differs widely from the allusions to his approaching death in his later epistles.² That the apostle should have been left to his own impressions in this matter is in striking harmony with our Lord's statement, "But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only."³ That it would come *suddenly* and called for constant watchfulness was a truth often dwelt upon by Christ, which the apostle could safely enforce, as he does at the close of this epistle.⁴

With regard to the arrangement of topics in this the earliest of Paul's writings that has come down to us, we can trace the order that may be said to be characteristic of his epistles generally, viz.: (1) Salutation, (2) Thanksgiving and Prayer, (3) Doctrinal Instruction, (4) Practical Exhortation, (5) Personal Messages, (6) Concluding Salutation and Benediction.

"THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
THE THESSALONIANS."

I. *Authorship*.

We have the same external evidence for the genuineness of the second epistle as of the first. Internally it bears evidence of being a sequel to the other, being written, like it, in the name of Paul and Silas and Timothy,⁵ and con-

¹ iv. 13-18 (see p. 94, note 2).

² 2 Cor. v. 1, 2: "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation with is from heaven"; Phil. i. 21-24: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if to live in the flesh,—if this is the fruit of my work, then what I shall choose I wot not. But I am in a strait betwixt the two, having the desire to depart and be with Christ; for it is very far better: yet

to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sake"; 2 Tim. iv. 6: "For I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is come."

³ Matt. xxiv. 36; cf. Acts i. 6, 7: "They therefore, when they were come together, asked him, saying, Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel? And he said unto them, It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority."

⁴ v. 1-11.

⁵ i. 1.

taining a direct allusion to the previous epistle.¹ As might have been expected, it contains fewer and more distant allusions to the apostle's sojourn in Thessalonica, although it expressly recalls the teaching he had then imparted regarding the revelation of "the man of sin."² As regards style and language it exhibits many Pauline peculiarities in common with the first epistle.

The prophetic passage in the second chapter³ has been a stumbling-block to many critics, who have imagined it to bear the stamp of a later period. In reality, however, it is quite consistent with the teaching of the first epistle, which nowhere implies that the coming of Christ was to be immediate, although it was to be sudden and was apparently to take place in the apostle's lifetime. Predictions of a similar kind had been uttered by our Lord Himself,⁴ and were also to be found in the books of Daniel and Ezekiel.

2. *The Readers.*

See page 95.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

As above remarked, this epistle, like the first, is written in the name of Paul, Silas, and Timothy. The three were together at Corinth, and apparently so far as the Book of Acts informs us, nowhere else. This leads to the inference that this epistle, like the first, was written from that city—probably a few months later.⁵ In the interval the

¹ ii. 15: "So then, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye were taught, whether by word, or by epistle of ours." In iii. 17 ("The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write,") some critics have thought they could detect a mark of spuriousness; but the words need occasion no difficulty if we suppose either that Paul had written a number of letters previously, (see p. 85), or that he is alluding to a forgery in ii. 2 ("To the end that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by epistle as from us, as that the day of the Lord is now present,") necessitating some such guarantee of genuineness in future.

² ii. 5: "Remember ye not, that,

when I was yet with you, I told you these things?" Apart from this circumstance there seems to be little or nothing to support the conjecture of Grotius, adopted by Baur, Ewald, and Renan, that the historical order of the two epistles has been reversed, and that the second should be first and the first second.

³ ii. 1-12.

⁴ Matt. xxiv.

⁵ A correspondence has been found between Paul's circumstances at the time of his trial before Gallio (Acts xviii. 12-18), and his expressions in iii. 1, 2: "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified, even as also it is with you; and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and evil men; for all have not faith.

excitement and disorder at Thessalonica consequent upon the expectation of Christ's coming, amid the persecution to which the converts were exposed, had grown even more serious, and demanded the apostle's attention.¹

4. *Character and Contents.*

Along with an expression of satisfaction with their continued faith and steadfastness in the midst of their persecutions and afflictions,² Paul assures the Thessalonians that Christ will infallibly come to vindicate their cause, "rendering vengeance" to His and their enemies, and at the same time "to be glorified in his saints."³ But he warns them against being carried away with the idea—due in some measure to a misconstruction of his own teaching⁴—that Christ's coming was immediately to take place. He mentions that certain great events must first come to pass,⁵ and exhorts them to the exercise of continued patience in the strength of divine grace,⁶ bidding them lead a quiet, honest, and industrious life,⁷ such as he had given an example of while he was yet with them, and commanding them to "withdraw (themselves) from every brother that walketh disorderly."

¹ i. 4, 5: "Your patience and faith in all your persecutions and in the afflictions which ye endure; which is a manifest token of the righteous judgement of God; to the end that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer." ii. 1, 2: "Now we beseech you, brethren, touching the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him; to the end that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by epistle as from us, as that the day of the Lord is now present." iii. 6-12: "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which they received of us. For yourselves know how ye ought to imitate us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you; neither did we eat bread for nought at any man's hand, but in labour and

travail, working night and day, that we might not burden any of you: not because we have not the right, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you, that ye should imitate us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, If any will not work, neither let him eat. For we hear of some that walk among you disorderly, that work not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread."

² i. 1-4.

³ i. 5-12.

⁴ ii. 1, 2 (quoted in note 1).

⁵ ii. 3-12.

⁶ ii. 13-17.

⁷ iii. 6-16. It was in the spirit of this apostolic counsel that Wesley, on being asked what he would do if he knew he had to die that very night, replied that he would proceed to fulfil the duties and engagements of the day.

The characteristic passage of the epistle is that which deals with "the falling away" that must "come first" before Christ's appearing.¹ Its meaning has been the subject of endless controversy, owing to the attempts which have been made to identify the "man of sin," and the "one that restraineth now," with historical dynasties or persons. For the former there have been suggested Nero, Mahomet, the Pope, Luther, Napoleon; for the latter the Roman Empire, the German Empire, Claudius, and even Paul himself. But the truer interpretation seems to be to regard the expressions in question as referring to two great *tendencies*—the one antichristian, in the form of secular ambition, which was all that the hope of a Messiah then amounted to in many Jewish minds, and the other political, in the form of the civil power represented, in the first instance, by the Roman Empire. The breakdown of the civil power before the aggressive march of an ungodly Socialism, under the leadership perhaps of some one realising on a gigantic scale the antichristian feeling and ambition of the age, may be the signal for the Advent of the true Christ in His heavenly power and glory.²

¹ii. 1-12: "Now we beseech you, brethren, touching the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him; to the end that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by epistle as from us, as that the day of the Lord is now present; let no man beguile you in any wise: for it will not be, except the falling away come first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know that which restraineth, to the end that he may be revealed in his own season. For the mystery of lawlessness doth already work: only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall

be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and bring to nought by the manifestation of his coming; even he, whose coming is according to the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceit of unrighteousness for them that are perishing; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God sendeth them a working of error, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

²The obscurity of the passage is partly due to its prophetic character, partly to the need for caution in any references to the interests of the state, and partly to the fact that the apostle takes for granted the personal instruction he had already given to the Thessalonians on the same subject.

CHAPTER X.

"THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS."

1. *Authorship.*

AS already mentioned, the Pauline authorship of this epistle is admitted with practical unanimity. The external evidence is abundant, from the end of the first century onward.¹ In particular we find in the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Church of Corinth (95 A.D.) the following unmistakable reference: "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What was it that he first wrote to you in the beginning of the gospel? Of a truth it was under the influence of the Spirit that he wrote to you in his epistle concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because then as well as now you had formed partialities."²

But the internal evidence would of itself be decisive. For this epistle—and still more 2 Corinthians—bears very distinct traces of *the opposition which Paul had to encounter* before his apostolic authority was firmly established;³ and

¹ Besides the testimony of Clement of Rome above cited, we have an early witness in Polycarp, who expressly quotes 1 Cor. vi. 2 as Paul's teaching. There are many apparent quotations from it by Ignatius, one by Hermas, and several by Justin Martyr; while Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all recognise it as Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians. It is also found in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and in the Muratorian Canon.

² 1st Ep. c. 47; cf. 1 Cor. i. 12: "Now this I mean, that each one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ."

³ e.g. ix. 1-6: "Am I not free? am I not an apostle? have I not seen Jesus

our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord? If to others I am not an apostle, yet at least I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord. My defence to them that examine me is this. Have we no right to eat and to drink? Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas, have we not a right to forbear working?" iv. 14, 15: "I write not these things to shame you, but to admonish you as my beloved children. For though ye should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I begat you through the gospel."

we know that such opposition had been vanquished long before his death. It is full of *minute references* to the state of the Corinthian Church—being to a large extent the apostle's reply to a letter of inquiry from that Church,¹ although it also deals with a number of evils and disorders among the converts, which had come to the apostle's knowledge *through other channels*.² This last circumstance, as Paley points out in his *Horæ Paulinæ* (iii. 1), is a token of reality, as it was not to be expected that the Corinthians should deliberately expose their own faults. At the same time their *acknowledgment and preservation of the epistle*, notwithstanding the aspersions which it casts on their early character as a Church, is a proof of its apostolic claims to their regard. It is worthy of remark, too, that it contains numerous references to *Paul's movements*, which would scarcely have been ventured on by an impostor;³ and a comparison of the epistle with the Book of Acts and other parts of the New Testament brings out *many striking coincidences*, which can best be accounted for on the supposition of its genuineness.⁴

¹ vii. 1: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote."

² i. 11: "For it hath been signified unto me concerning you, my brethren, by them which are of the household of Chloe, that there are contentions among you." v. 1: "It is actually reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles, that one of you hath his father's wife." xi. 18: "For first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that divisions exist among you; and I partly believe it."

³ e.g., iv. 17-19: "For this cause have I sent unto you Timothy, who is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, who shall put you in remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, even as I teach everywhere in every church. Now some are puffed up, as though I were not coming to you. But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will; and I will know, not the word of them which are puffed up, but the power." xvi. 1-7: "... And when I arrive, whomsoever ye shall approve by letters, them will I send to carry your bounty unto Jerusalem: and if it be

meet for me to go also, they shall go with me. But I will come unto you, when I shall have passed through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia; but with you it may be that I shall abide, or even winter, that ye may set me forward on my journey whithersoever I go. For I do not wish to see you now by the way; for I hope to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit."

⁴ (a) iii. 6: "I planted, Apollos watered"; cf. Acts xviii. 1: "After these things he (*i.e.* Paul) departed from Athens, and came to Corinth," ver. 11: "And he dwelt there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them," and xix. 1: "And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper country came to Ephesus." (b) xvi. 8, 11: "But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost. . . . Let no man therefore despise him (*i.e.* Timothy). But set him forward on his journey in peace, that he may come unto me: for I expect him with the brethren"; cf. Acts xix. 20-22: "So mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed (*i.e.* at Ephesus). Now after these things were ended,

Along with Paul Sosthenes is associated in the opening verse (possibly the converted "ruler of the synagogue")¹—who may have acted as the apostle's amanuensis.

2. *The Readers.*

"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth."² In the apostle's time Corinth was practically the capital of Greece. It had attained pre-eminence at a much earlier period, owing to its commercial advantages, but had been destroyed by the Roman conqueror about two hundred years before Paul's visit. After lying in ruins for a century, it was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar 46 B.C., and peopled by a Roman colony. This may account for the Roman names mentioned in the epistle.³ We have an allusion to the effects produced by the ravages of the conqueror on the various kinds of buildings, and also to the gladiatorial exhibitions.⁴

Situated at the foot of a great rock called Acrocorinthus about 2000 feet high, on the Isthmus (famous for its games⁵) which connected the Peloponnesus with the main-

Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. And having sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while," and 1 Tim. iv. 12: "Let no man despise thy youth." It is to be observed that these words were addressed to Timothy while he was in Ephesus—at a later period. (c.) i. 14-17: "I thank God that I baptized none of you, save Crispus and Gaius; lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel," and xvi. 15: "Ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have set themselves to minister unto the saints"; cf. Acts xviii. 7, 8: "And he (i.e. Paul) departed thence, and went into the house of a certain man named Titus Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue (i.e. of Corinth). And Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed in the

Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized," and Rom. xvi. 23: "Gaius my host, and of the whole church, saluteth you."

¹ Acts xviii. 17.

² i. 2.

³ i. 14: "Crispus and Gaius," xvi. 17: "Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus."

⁴ iii. 12, 13: "But if any man buildeth on the foundation gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble; each man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it is revealed in fire; and the fire itself shall prove each man's work of what sort it is." iv. 9: "For, I think, God hath set forth us the apostles last of all, as men doomed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men."

⁵ ix. 24-27: "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? Even so run, that ye may attain. And every man that striveth in the games is temperate in all things. Now they do it to receive a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, as not un-

land, and lying in the direct route between Ephesus and Rome, Corinth rapidly regained its former prosperity and became the chief emporium¹ of Europe, with a population of more than half a million, drawn from many lands. It was so *notorious for its profligacy*—encouraged by its very worship—that a “Corinthian life” was synonymous with luxury and licentiousness. At the same time, its inhabitants made such pretensions to *philosophy and literary culture* that “Corinthian words” was a phrase meaning polished and cultivated speech.

In this great and busy centre Paul spent a year and a half or more in his second missionary journey—being the longest time he had ever yet laboured continuously in any city.² He found a home in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, a Jewish couple who had recently come from Rome in consequence of the decree of Claudius, eminent for their generosity and devotion, and with them he wrought at his trade of tent-making.³

Beginning his ministry in the synagogue as usual, he was soon compelled by the opposition of the Jews to seek another place of meeting, which he found in the house of Justus, a converted proselyte. There he preached the Gospel, encouraged by a message from God in a vision,

certainly; so fight I, as not beating the air: but I buffet my body, and bring it into bondage: lest by any means, after that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected.”

¹ It had two harbours, Eastern and Western, named Cenchreæ and Lechæum. A few years after the apostle's visit Nero cut the first turf for a canal across the Isthmus; but the project was not carried out.

² Acts xviii. 11: “And he dwelt there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.” xviii. 18: “And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren.”

³ Acts xviii. 1-3: “After these things he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And he found a certain Jew named Aquila, a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from

Rome: and he came unto them; and because he was of the same trade, he abode with them, and they wrought; for by their trade they were tentmakers.” Acts xx. 34: “Ye yourselves know that these hands ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me” (Address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus). 1 Cor. iv. 12: “And we toil, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure.” 1 Cor. xvi. 19: “The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house”; Rom. xvi. 3-5: “Salute Prisca and Aquila my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles: and salute the church that is in their house” (*i.e.* in Rome, to which they had returned).

and continued to do so with no small success notwithstanding an attempt of the Jews to invoke the civil power against him.¹ His converts appear to have been chiefly drawn from *the lower classes*,² but they were not free from the prevailing tendency to *intellectual pride*,³ accompanied with a proneness to *sensual sin*, equally characteristic of their city.⁴ The apostle speaks of having been with them "in weakness and in fear, and in much trembling"⁵—possibly the result of his recent apparent failure at Athens.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

It can be proved with tolerable certainty that the epistle was written from Ephesus about the spring of 57 or 58 A.D.⁶

From internal evidence⁷ we learn that it was written on the eve of a second visit to Corinth, which the apostle was about to pay after passing through Macedonia, having already sent Timothy in advance as his representative, apparently from Ephesus.⁸ When we turn to the Book of Acts we find that such a visit to Greece was paid by the apostle at the close of a sojourn of about three years at Ephesus,⁹ and it appears from xix. 21-23 that almost

¹ Acts xviii. 4-18.

² i. 26-29: "For behold your calling, brethren, how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called," &c.

³ e.g. i. 18-20: "For the word of the cross is to them that are perishing foolishness; but unto us which are being saved it is the power of God. For it is written,

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise,
And the prudence of the prudent
will I reject.

Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" iii. 18, 19: "Let no man deceive himself. If any man thinketh that he is wise among you in this world, let him become a fool, that he may become wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." viii. 1: "Now concerning things sacrificed to idols: we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth."

⁴ v. 1-11: "It is actually reported that there is fornication among you," &c. vi. 15-18: "Know ye not that your bodies are members of Christ," &c. xi. 21: "For in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken."

⁵ ii. 3.

⁶ The note at the end of the epistle in the A.V. is due to a misapprehension of xvi. 5 ("But I will come unto you, when I shall have passed through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia") as if it implied that Paul was passing through Macedonia when he wrote the epistle, instead of his being at Ephesus, as shown above.

⁷ iv. 17-19 (quoted p. 104, note 3); xvi. 5 (quoted above, note 6).

⁸ xvi. 8-10 (quoted p. 104, note 4 (b)).

⁹ Acts xx. 1, 2. "And after the uproar (*i.e.* at Ephesus) was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had

immediately before he left Ephesus he sent Timothy before him to Macedonia.¹ Moreover, several expressions in the epistle plainly point to Ephesus as the place from which it emanated.²

As the apostle appears to have travelled for about a year after leaving Corinth on the first occasion (54 A.D.), previous to settling at Ephesus, his stay in the latter city may have extended to the beginning of 58 A.D. Several allusions to the seasons which occur in the epistle lead us to place its composition in the spring of 58 A.D. or of the preceding year.³

4. Character and Contents.

Of this epistle it has been fitly said that it is "a fragment which has no parallel in ecclesiastical history." It deals with a section of early Church history which exhibits the most marked and varied features. It sets the apostle vividly before us as a teacher and governor, *confronted with the dangers and perplexities, the errors and corruptions* to which the Corinthian Church was liable, planted as it was

gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece." ver. 31: "Wherefore watch ye, remembering that by the space of three years I ceased not to admonish every one night and day with tears" (Address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus).

¹ Acts xix. 22, 23: "And having sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while. And about that time there arose no small stir concerning the Way." xx. 1: "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and departed for to go into Macedonia."

² xvi. 8-10 (quoted p. 104, note 4 (b)); cf. Acts xix. 20-23 (quoted p. 104, note 4 (b)); xvi. 19: "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house"; cf. Acts xviii. 18, 19: "And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and

Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchreæ: for he had a vow. And they came to Ephesus, and he left them there," and Acts xix. 1: "And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper country came to Ephesus, and found certain disciples," &c.; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32: "If after the manner of men I fought with beasts at Ephesus, what doth it profit me? If the dead are not raised, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

³ v. 7, 8: "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened. For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ: wherefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." xvi. 6, 8: "But with you it may be that I shall abide, or even winter, that ye may set me forward on my journey whithersoever I go. But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost."

in the midst of the rankest heathenism. In the words of Dean Stanley, "we are here allowed to witness the earliest conflict of Christianity with the culture and the vices of the ancient classical world; here we have an insight into the principles which regulated the apostle's choice or rejection of the customs of that vast fabric of heathen society which was then emphatically called 'the world'; here we trace the mode in which he combated the false pride, the false knowledge, the false liberality, the false freedom, the false display, the false philosophy, to which an intellectual age, especially in a declining nation, is constantly liable."

The epistle is thus *eminently practical*, dealing with questions that had actually emerged in the experience of the Church to which it is addressed. In form it is *orderly and logical*, taking up one point after another in regular succession; in style it is more *simple and direct* than most of Paul's compositions, rising at times into the sublimest eloquence, as in the great eulogium on charity, or love.¹

As already mentioned, the epistle was in part the reply to a letter of inquiry which had been sent to the apostle by the Corinthian Church in consequence of a letter which he had previously addressed to them.²

But the first six chapters have mainly reference to certain dangers threatening the Church, of which information had reached the apostle from another quarter, causing him the utmost anxiety and grief.³ These dangers were mainly twofold—the prevalence of *party spirit*, and the tendency to *immorality*. Hence the prominence given, in the opening

¹ Chap. xiii.

² v. 9-11: "I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators; not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous and extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye needs go out of the world: but now I write unto you not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a one no, not to eat." vii. 1: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote." xvi. 17,

18: "And I rejoice at the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus: for that which was lacking on your part they supplied. For they refreshed my spirit and yours: acknowledge ye therefore them that are such."

2 Cor. ii. 3, 4: "And I wrote this very thing, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all. For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears."

salutation, to the holiness to which Christians are called, and to their unity in Christ;¹ hence, too, the fact that in the accompanying thanksgiving for tokens of grace in the Corinthian Church, it is gifts of *knowledge and utterance* rather than graces of character that are specially mentioned.²

(1) The tendency to *sectarian division* mentioned in the first chapter³ seems to have been fostered by emissaries from Jerusalem, who wished to undermine Paul's authority and wrought upon the feelings and prejudices of the Jewish portion of the Church.⁴ The visit of *Apollos*, a learned and eloquent Jew of Alexandria,⁵ after Paul's departure, had tended in the same direction, by leading to an invidious comparison between his philosophical and rhetorical style of preaching and the more simple method of Paul, although the latter continued to regard him as a valuable coadjutor.⁶ But there were some—probably the Judaising party—who were content neither with the teaching of Paul nor of Apollos, but were disposed to range themselves under the name and authority of *Cephas*, as the leader of the twelve apostles and an observer of the Law. Others

¹ i. 2: "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, even them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours."

² i. 4, 5: "I thank my God always concerning you, for the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus; that in everything ye were enriched in him, in all utterance and all knowledge."

³ i. 12: "Now this I mean, that each one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ."

⁴ ix. 1-6 (quoted p. 103, note 3); vers. 11, 12: "If we sowed unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your carnal things? If others partake of this right over you, do not we yet more? Nevertheless we did not use this right; but we bear all things, that we may cause no hindrance to the gospel of Christ"; 2 Cor. (*passim*).

⁵ Acts xviii. 24-28: "Now a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, came to Ephesus; and he was mighty in the scriptures. . . . And when he was minded to pass over into Achaia, the brethren encouraged him, and wrote to the disciples to receive him: and when he was come, he helped them much which had believed through grace: for he powerfully confuted the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ"; cf. i. 12 (quoted above, note 3); iii. 3, 4: "For whereas there is among you jealousy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk after the manner of men? For when one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; are ye not men?"

⁶ xvi. 12: "But as touching Apollos the brother, I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren: and it was not at all his will to come now; but he will come when he shall have opportunity."

professed to be independent of human teachers, and claimed a more direct connection with *Christ*, probably through their personal acquaintance with "the brethren of the Lord," or their national and historical affinity with Christ.¹ In opposition to all these divisive courses, the apostle insists on *the supremacy of Christ* as the one Lord and Saviour. He introduces His name more frequently in this epistle than in any other of his writings (nine times, for example, in the first nine verses), and represents himself and other apostles as being not the heads of different schools, but simply the ministers of Christ, by whom their converts were brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.²

(2) With regard to the *immorality* invading the Church, the apostle begins by referring to a terrible scandal—the taking to wife, by a Christian, of his stepmother during his father's lifetime. In the exercise of his apostolic authority he pronounces a stern sentence on the offender, and urges the necessity for an uncompromising opposition to all such sin, and separation from those guilty of it, if they be members of the Church.³ In the next chapter, after deprecating the bringing of legal actions by Christians against one another in *the heathen courts*, he rebukes the antinomian tendencies among them, and lays down the fundamental principles on which *the Christian law of purity* must rest.

The apostle then proceeds to answer the inquiries of his converts on the subject of *marriage and celibacy*, distinguishing between his own personal views and the expressed

¹ i. 12 (quoted p. 110, note 3); ix. 5 (quoted p. 103, note 3).

² i. 23, 24: "But we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." iii. 5: "What then is Apollos? and what is Paul? Ministers through whom ye believed; and each as the Lord gave to him." iii. 11: "For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which

is Jesus Christ." iii. 21-23: "Wherefore let no one glory in men. For all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."

³ Chap. v.; cf. 2-Cor. vii. 12: "So although I wrote unto you, I wrote not for his cause that did the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered the wrong, but that your earnest care for us might be made manifest unto you in the sight of God."

will of Christ.¹ In the next three chapters² he deals with what was to his readers a subject of vast importance—the duty of Christians with reference to the *feasts* that were held in the idol temples, and more particularly with regard to the use of the *flesh of animals offered in sacrifice*, which was almost the only kind of animal food that could be bought in the market. This question he bids them consider not in the abstract, but as it bears on the interests of Christian society, and as it is likely to affect not only their own character but the character and feelings of their fellow-Christians. In this connection he cites his own example of self-denial even in things lawful.³ In the next four chapters⁴ he lays down directions for the guidance of his converts in *matters of public worship*,—dealing with such questions as the wearing of a covering on the head in the public services, the duty of a modest reticence on the part of the female members of the congregation, the necessity for sobriety and decorum in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the harmony and common end of the various gifts conferred by the Spirit (of which he enumerates no less than nine),⁵ the superiority of love to all such gifts, the relative value and importance of the several gifts, and the propriety of making the religious services intelligible to all, so that they may be able to join in the loud Amen as the token of their fellowship. He sums up his teaching on public worship in the two *cardinal principles*, “let all things

¹ vii. 10: “But unto the married I give charge, yea not I, but the Lord”; ver. 12: “But to the rest say I, not the Lord”; ver. 25: “Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: but I give my judgement, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful”; ver. 40: “But she is happier if she abide as she is, after my judgement: and I think that I also have the Spirit of God.”

² viii.—x.

³ x. 23: “All things are lawful; but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful; but all things edify not.” x. 32, 33: “Give no occasion of stumbling, either to Jews, or to Greeks, or to the church of God: even as I also

please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of the many, that they may be saved.”

⁴ xi.—xiv.

⁵ xii. 8-11: “For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit: to another faith, in the same Spirit; and to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit; and to another workings of miracles; and to another prophecy; and to another discernings of spirits: to another divers kinds of tongues; and to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will.”

be done unto edifying," "let all things be done decently and in order."¹ The fifteenth chapter contains a dissertation of incomparable value on the *resurrection of the dead*—a doctrine which some of the Corinthians had begun to call in question, partly in a spirit of worldly-mindedness, and partly as the result of a sceptical philosophy.² It was the future general resurrection that they doubted, not the historical resurrection of Jesus Christ, the latter fact being so fully accepted that one of the apostle's chief arguments against their scepticism was that it would involve the rejection of the testimony to Christ's resurrection.³ In the course of the argument we have a summary of evidences for the historical reality of our Lord's resurrection, delivered within twenty-five or thirty years after His death, while most of the witnesses were still alive.⁴ The last chapter contains a number of directions and intimations having reference, among other things, to *the collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem* (which the apostle hoped to find ready on his next visit to Corinth),—after which the epistle concludes with the usual kind messages and autograph greeting.

¹ xiv. 26, 40.

² xv. 33-35: "Evil company doth corrupt good manners. Awake up righteously, and sin not; for some have no knowledge of God: I speak this to move you to shame. But some one will say, How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?"

³ xv. 13-16: "But if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised: and if Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we witnessed of God that he

raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead are not raised. For if the dead are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised."

⁴ xv. 4-8: "And that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep; then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles; and last of all, as unto one born out of due time, he appeared to me also."

CHAPTER XI.

"THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS."

1. *Authorship.*

THE Pauline authorship of this epistle is involved in that of 1 Corinthians. There is in several points such a *subtle harmony* between them as can only be accounted for by their common authorship;¹ and the impression that both are genuine writings of Paul is confirmed by an examination of relative passages in the Book of Acts.²

That the author did not derive his information from the Book of Acts may be inferred from the circumstance that the name of Titus, which is prominent in the epistle, is not once mentioned in Acts. The same conclusion may be drawn from a comparison of their respective allusions to the attempts made upon Paul's life and liberty at Damascus after his conversion,³ as well as from the fact that the enumeration of his trials in the eleventh chapter⁴ contains a number of striking statements which have *nothing corresponding* to them in the Book of Acts, though at the same time there is nothing inconsistent with them. With regard to the apparent discrepancy as to the number of his visits to Corinth,⁵ see page 117.

¹ and ². See notes A and B appended to this chapter. The illustrations are taken from Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, where they are set forth at greater length.

³ xi. 32: "In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes, in order to take me: and through a window was I let down in a basket by the wall, and escaped his hands." Acts ix. 23, 24: "And when many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel together to kill him: but their plot became known to Saul. And

they watched the gates also day and night that they might kill him: but his disciples took him by night, and let him down through the wall, lowering him in a basket."

⁴ xi. 24, 25: "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I been in the deep."

⁵ xiii. 1.

Apart from the minute correspondences above referred to, there is a *living interest* and an *air of reality* about the epistle, scarcely ever met with in forgeries, especially of that early period.

With regard to *external evidence* a few echoes of expressions occurring in the epistle are to be found in the fragmentary writings that have come down to us from the beginning of the second century. By the end of that century the quotations from the epistle in the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, &c., are explicit and unmistakable.

The amanuensis in this case was probably Timothy, as he is associated with the apostle in the opening verse.¹

2. *The Readers.*

"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in the whole of Achaia" (i. 1.). See page 105.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

It was evidently written a few months after the first epistle, say in the summer of 57 or 58 A.D., from some town in Macedonia, probably Thessalonica.²

In the interval the apostle had left Ephesus, after his narrow escape from the violence of the crowd, and had proceeded to Troas, where he anxiously expected the arrival of Titus.³ The latter had been sent to Corinth, either with the first epistle or shortly after its dispatch, to enforce the apostle's views and to bring him back word of

¹ "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and Timothy our brother." (i. 1.)

² "From Philippi," according to note at the end of the epistle in A.V. But this is not so probable in view of the fact that the apostle seems to have already visited the Churches of Macedonia (viii. 1-4), for in the course of doing so Philippi would naturally come first, to one travelling southward.

³ i. 8-10: "For we would not have

you ignorant, brethren, concerning our affliction which befell us in Asia, that we were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life: yea, we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead: who delivered us out of so great a death, and will deliver: on whom we have set our hope that he will also still deliver us."

the effect produced by his epistle at this momentous crisis in the history of his most influential Church.¹

In his disappointment at not finding Titus, he had no heart to embrace the opportunity of preaching at Troas, and had proceeded to Macedonia, where Titus at length joined him.² It was after getting Titus' report, bringing him *great relief of mind* in the midst of his severe trials and heavy responsibilities,³ that he appears to have written this epistle,—which he sent by the hands of Titus and “the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the churches.”⁴

¹ viii. 6: “Insomuch that we exhorted Titus, that as he had made a beginning before, so he would also complete in you this grace also” (*i.e.* the liberality referred to in previous verses). xii. 18: “I exhorted Titus, and I sent the brother with him. Did Titus take any advantage of you? walked we not by the same Spirit? walked we not in the same steps?” *cf.* 1 Cor. xvi. 12: “But as touching Apollos the brother, I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren: and it was not at all his will to come now; but he will come when he shall have opportunity.”

² ii. 12, 13: “Now when I came to Troas for the gospel of Christ, and when a door was opened unto me in the Lord, I had no relief for my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went forth unto Macedonia”; vii. 5, 6: (quoted below).

³ vii. 4-16: “Great is my boldness of speech toward you, great is my glorying on your behalf: I am filled with comfort, I overflow with joy in all our affliction. For even when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no relief, but we were afflicted on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless he that comforteth the lowly, even God, comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, while he told us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me; so that I rejoiced yet more. For though I made you sorry with my epistle, I do not regret it, though I did regret; for I see that that epistle made you sorry, though but for a season. Now I rejoice,

not that ye were made sorry, but that ye were made sorry unto repentance: for ye were made sorry after a godly sort, that ye might suffer loss by us in nothing. For godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation, a repentance which bringeth no regret: but the sorrow of the world worketh death. For behold, this selfsame thing, that ye were made sorry after a godly sort, what earnest care it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what longing, yea, what zeal, yea, what avenging! In everything ye approved yourselves to be pure in the matter. So although I wrote unto you, I wrote not for his cause that did the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered the wrong, but that your earnest care for us might be made manifest unto you in the sight of God. Therefore we have been comforted: and in our comfort we joyed the more exceedingly for the joy of Titus, because his spirit hath been refreshed by you all. For if in anything I have gloried to him on your behalf, I was not put to shame; but as we spake all things to you in truth, so our glorying also, which I made before Titus, was found to be truth. And his inward affection is more abundantly toward you, whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him. I rejoice that in everything I am of good courage concerning you.” xi. 28: “Beside those things that are without, there is that which presseth upon me daily, anxiety for all the churches.”

⁴ viii. 6, 16-18: “Insomuch that we exhorted Titus, that as he had made a beginning before, so he would also

A difficulty has been raised about the expression, "This is the third time I am coming to you."¹ Some think the apostle had paid a second visit to Corinth, from Ephesus, prior to the writing of his first epistle. But another explanation is to be found in the importance attaching to the visit he had intended to pay on his way to Macedonia.² The confidence of the Corinthians in him had been shaken by the disappointment he had caused them ; and he wished to impress upon them the reality of his intention, although he had been unable to fulfil it. No doubt, on this supposition, he would have been more strictly accurate if he had said, as he does elsewhere,³ "Behold, this is the third time I am ready to come to you."

4. *Character and Contents.*

If the first epistle may be said to be our great instructor regarding the inner life of *the Church*, the second is our chief source of information regarding the personality of the *apostle himself*. It is *an outpouring of personal feeling* almost from beginning to end, expressing itself in many different moods and with a great variety of style. It is well described by Erasmus, when he says that "at one time the apostle wells up gently like some limpid spring, and by and by thunders down like a torrent with a mighty crash, carrying everything before it ; now he flows placidly and smoothly, now spreads out far and wide, as if expanding into a lake, then disappears, and suddenly reappears in a different place." But although the least systematic of Paul's writings, it contains many passages of priceless worth, for the comfort and edification of the Church.

complete in you this grace also. . . . But thanks be to God, which putteth the same earnest care for you into the heart of Titus. For indeed he accepted our exhortation ; but being himself very earnest, he went forth unto you of his own accord. And we have sent together with him the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the churches."

¹ xiii. 1.

² i. 15, 16 : "And in this confidence I was minded to come before unto you, that ye might have a second benefit ; and by you to pass into Macedonia, and again from Macedonia to come unto you, and of you to be set forward on my journey unto Judæa."

³ xii. 14.

The apostle had learned from Titus that his first letter had served its purpose, and that the interests of Church discipline had been secured. But the same messenger had informed him that *fresh cause for anxiety* had arisen in the rapid growth of a party hostile to his influence, who were seeking to trade upon the disaffection which had been caused among his converts by his failure to visit them according to promise.¹

Traces of such opposition are discernible even in the first epistle;² but it had been greatly stimulated by the intrigues and false pretensions of *rival teachers* from Jerusalem, who had brought letters of commendation with them, and were using Peter's name, and even that of Christ, for party purposes.³

¹ i. 15-17 (vv. 15, 16 quoted above); ver. 17: "When I therefore was thus minded, did I shew fickleness? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be the yea yea and the nay nay?"

² i Cor. i. 12: "Now this I mean, that each one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas"; i Cor. ix. 1-6 (quoted p. 103, note 3).

³ ii. 17: "For we are not as the many, corrupting the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ." iii. 1, 2: "Are we beginning again to commend ourselves? or need we, as do some, epistles of commendation to you or from you? Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men." v. 12: "We are not again commending ourselves unto you, but speak as giving you occasion of glorying on our behalf, that ye may have wherewith to answer them that glory in appearance, and not in heart." x. 7-12, 18: "Ye look at the things that are before your face. If any man trusteth in himself that he is Christ's, let him consider this again with himself, that, even as he is Christ's, so also are we. For though I should glory somewhat abundantly concerning our authority (which the Lord gave for building you up and not for casting you down), I shall not be put to shame: that I may not seem as if I would terrify you by my letters. For, His letters, they say,

are weighty and strong; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account. Let such a one reckon this, that, what we are in word by letters when we are absent, such are we also in deed when we are present. For we are not bold to number or compare ourselves with certain of them that commend themselves: but they themselves, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with themselves, are without understanding. . . . For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth." xi. 3-5, 12-15, 22, 23: "But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness, your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ. For if he that cometh preacheth another Jesus, whom we did not preach, or if ye receive a different spirit, which ye did not receive, or a different gospel, which ye did not accept, ye do well to bear with him. . . . But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire an occasion; that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we. For such men are false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ. And no marvel; for even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing therefore if his ministers also fashion themselves as ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works. . . . Are they Hebrews?

To defeat the efforts of these Judaising teachers, and to refute the charges and insinuations which they were bringing against him, was the main object of this epistle. By doing so the apostle hoped to obviate the necessity for any sharp dealing after he arrived at Corinth.¹

In the first half of the epistle² Paul seeks to *conciliate the affection* of his converts by giving them an account of his sufferings and of the anxiety he had felt on their behalf. He explains that his delay in visiting them had not been owing to any fickleness of purpose on his part, but to a desire for the restoration of peace and purity before he came among them. He gives a frank exposition of his views and feelings, his trials and supports, as a minister of Christ, making glad and thankful acknowledgment of the kind reception they had given to his deputy, and of the full amends they had made in the important case of Church discipline about which he had written to them. In the two succeeding chapters³ he exhorts them to a *prompt and liberal fulfilment* of their promise to contribute for the relief of the needy brethren at Jerusalem,—a promise of which he had boasted to the Churches at Macedonia, in order to stimulate their generosity. In this connection he sets forth more fully than anywhere else in his writings the motives and dispositions which should actuate Christians in the discharge of this duty of pecuniary liberality.

At this point there is a sudden change in the apostle's tone; and the remainder of the epistle is devoted to a *vindication of his character as an apostle*. He enumerates

so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as one beside himself) I more; in labours more abundantly, in prisons more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths oft."

¹ xiii. 10: "For this cause I write these things while absent, that I may not when present deal sharply, according to the authority which the Lord gave me for building up, and not for casting down." xii. 20, 21: "For I fear, lest by any means, when I come,

I should find you not such as I would, and should myself be found of you such as ye would not; lest by any means there should be strife, jealousy, wraths, factions, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults; lest, when I come again, my God should humble me before you, and I should mourn for many of them that have sinned heretofore, and repented not of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they committed."

² Chaps. i.—vii.

³ Chaps. viii., ix.

his many claims to the respect and obedience of his converts, and closes with an impressive salutation, followed by the form of Benediction which has now become so general in the Church: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all."

That the epistle succeeded in regaining, or rather in retaining, for the apostle the general confidence of his Corinthian converts, may be inferred from the veneration in which his memory was held amongst them a few years after his death. Of this veneration we find unmistakable tokens in the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, written towards the close of the first century.

NOTE A (p. 114).

(1) 1 Cor. xvi. 5: "But I will come unto you, when I shall have passed through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia."

In the following passages we can trace the fulfilment of this intention on the part of the apostle to visit Macedonia:—2 Cor. vii. 4-7: "Great is my boldness of speech toward you, great is my glorying on your behalf: I am filled with comfort, I overflow with joy in all our affliction. For even when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no relief, but we were afflicted on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless he that comforteth the lowly, even God, comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, while he told us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me; so that I rejoiced yet more"; 2 Cor. ix. 1-4: "For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you: for I know your readiness, of which I glory on your behalf to them of Macedonia, that Achaia hath been prepared for a year past; and your zeal hath stirred up very many of them. But I have sent the brethren, that our glorying on your behalf may not be made void in this respect; that, even as I said, ye may be prepared: lest by any means, if there come with me any of Macedonia, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be put to shame in this confidence."

(2) 1 Cor. v. 1-5: "It is actually reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles,

that one of you hath his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and did not rather mourn, that he that had done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

From the following passages we gather that the sentence thus pronounced was duly executed, with good results both to the offender himself and the members of the congregation :—2 Cor. ii. 6, 7 : "Sufficient to such a one is this punishment which was inflicted by the many ; so that contrariwise ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow." 2 Cor. vii. 6-8 : "Nevertheless he that comforteth the lowly, even God, comforted us by the coming of Titus ; and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, while he told us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me ; so that I rejoiced yet more. For though I made you sorry with my epistle, I do not regret it, though I did regret ; for I see that that epistle made you sorry, though but for a season." . . . ver. 12 : "So although I wrote unto you, I wrote not for his cause that did the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered the wrong, but that your earnest care for us might be made manifest unto you in the sight of God." It is to be observed that the terms of the last-quoted verse are precisely applicable to such a social offence as is referred to in the first epistle.

(3) 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 : "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the churches of Galatia, so also do ye. Upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store, as he may prosper, that no collections be made when I come."

The collection thus introduced as a matter with which the Corinthians were already familiar, is several times alluded to in the second epistle—in such a way as to imply that while the resolution to contribute had been formed a whole year before, the actual payment to the treasurers to be approved by the Corinthians had not yet been made. 2 Cor. viii. 10, 11 : "And herein I give my judgment : for this is expedient for you, who were the first to make a beginning a year ago, not only to do, but also to will. But now complete the doing also ; that as there was the readiness to will, so there may be the completion also out of your ability" ; 2 Cor. ix. 1-4 (quoted p. 120, *Note A* (1)) ; ver. 5 : "I thought it necessary therefore to intreat the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your aforepromised bounty, that the same might be ready, as a matter of bounty, and not of extortion" ; ver. 7 : "Let each man do according as he hath purposed in his heart. . . ."

NOTE B (p. 114).

(1) Acts xix. 23—xx. 1 : "And about that time there arose no small stir concerning the Way. For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines of Diana, brought no little business unto the craftsmen ; whom he gathered together, with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this business we have our wealth. And ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands : and not only is there danger that this our trade come into disrepute ; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana be made of no account, and that she should even be deposed from her magnificence, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth. And when they heard this, they were filled with wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. And the city was filled with the confusion : and they rushed with one accord into the theatre, having seized Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel. And when Paul was minded to enter in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain also of the chief officers of Asia, being his friends, sent unto him, and besought him not to adventure himself into the theatre. . . . And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and departed for to go into Macedonia."

This narrative throws light, evidently undesignedly, on the apostle's thankful remembrance of his deliverance from "the affliction which befell (us) in Asia" that meets us at the opening of the second epistle. 2 Cor. i. 8-10 : "For we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning our affliction which befell us in Asia, that we were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life : yea, we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead : who delivered us out of so great a death, and will deliver : on whom we have set our hope that he will also still deliver us."

(2) 2 Cor. i. 15, 16 : "And in this confidence I was minded to come before unto you, that ye might have a second benefit ; and by you to pass into Macedonia, and again from Macedonia to come unto you, and of you to be set forward on my journey unto Judæa." . . . ver. 23 : "But I call God for a witness upon my soul, that to spare you I forbore to come unto Corinth." ii. 1-4 : "But I determined this for myself, that I would not come again to you with sorrow. For if I

make you sorry, who then is he that maketh me glad, but he that is made sorry by me? And I wrote this very thing, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all. For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be made sorry, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you."

From these allusions it appears that Paul had departed from his intention of passing through Corinth on his way to Macedonia; and it was after this change, and in pursuance of it, that he had written the epistle referred to,—which, it is evident from the context, is to be identified with our 1 Corinthians. This coincidence between the two epistles finds confirmation and explanation in Acts xix. 21, 22: "Now after these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. And having sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while."

(3) Acts xviii. 1-5: "After these things he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. . . . But when Silas and Timothy came down from Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word, testifying to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ."

This agrees with 2 Cor. i. 19, from which we learn that Silas (under a slightly altered name, *cf.* 1 Thess. i. 1, Acts xvii. 10) and Timothy had assisted Paul in preaching to the Corinthians: "For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me and Silvanus and Timothy, was not yea and nay, but in him is yea." The agreement is enhanced by 2 Cor. xi. 9, where "the brethren" are no doubt to be identified with Timothy and Silas—"And when I was present with you and was in want, I was not a burden on any man; for the brethren, when they came from Macedonia, supplied the measure of my want; and in everything I kept myself from being burdensome unto you, and so will I keep myself."

(4) Acts xx. 6, 7: "And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we tarried seven days. And upon the first day of the week, when we were gathered together to break bread, Paul discoursed with them, intending to depart on the morrow; and prolonged his speech until midnight."

From these verses it appears that, in returning from Macedonia on his final journey to Jerusalem, Paul stayed a week at Troas, and there found a Christian congregation ready to receive Communion at his hands. Now there is no previous mention in the Book of Acts of the existence of such a Church, or of Paul's having preached at Troas, though we learn it was from that city he set sail on his first mission

to Europe (Acts xvi. 8); but in 2 Corinthians we find allusion made to a visit he had paid to Troas on his way to Macedonia, when "a door was opened unto (him) in the Lord," for the preaching of the Gospel; 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13: "Now when I came to Troas for the gospel of Christ, and when a door was opened unto me in the Lord, I had no relief for my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went forth into Macedonia."

That this visit to Troas was previous to that in Acts xx. 6, above referred to, is proved by its connection with the apostle's expected meeting with Titus, which, as we learn from 2 Cor. vii. 5-7, actually took place in Macedonia before the apostle's visit to Greece, which preceded his last journey to Jerusalem—"For even when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no relief, but we were afflicted on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless he that comforteth the lowly, even God, comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, while he told us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me; so that I rejoiced yet more."

(5) Acts xvi. 11—xviii. 18: "Setting sail therefore from Troas, we made a straight course to Samothrace, and the day following to Neapolis; and from thence to Philippi, which is a city of Macedonia; . . . After these things he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. . . . And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchreæ: for he had a vow."

In this narrative of the only missionary tour that Paul had made in Europe previous to his writing 2 Corinthians, it appears that Corinth had been the farthest limit to which his travels and labours extended. In remarkable harmony with this is the language of 2 Cor. x. 14-16: "For we stretch not ourselves overmuch, as though we reached not unto you: for we came even as far as unto you in the gospel of Christ: not glorying beyond our measure, that is, in other men's labours; but having hope that, as your faith groweth, we shall be magnified in you according to our province unto further abundance, so as to preach the gospel even unto the parts beyond you, and not to glory in another's province in regard of things ready to our hand."

CHAPTER XII.

"THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE GALATIANS."

1. *Authorship.*

THIS is another epistle whose genuineness is scarcely disputed. Its main topic—the relation of Christians to the ceremonial law of the Jews—would lead us to fix its composition at a period anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, when the question was practically set at rest.

Its character and style are inconsistent with the idea of forgery. (1) The picture which it gives of the state of the Galatian Church is too life-like, and the play of feeling it exhibits on the part of the apostle is too subtle for the inventive power of an age so little skilled in that kind of fiction.¹ (2) Its representation of facts, as regards the relations of Paul with the other apostles, is too candid to have been got up in the interests of Church unity, and, on the other hand, it is too free in its expressions to have been framed in the interests of any known party in the Church.² (3) A comparison of the personal and historical allusions in the epistle with statements in the

¹ "It is not a mere flourish of theological rhetoric to ask, 'Who could have acted that passionate emotion which brings to light so many traits of character both in the apostle and in the Church, which is interwoven by so many threads with the apostolical age, which is most natural if real, and all but inconceivable if due to the imagination of a forger?'" —Jowett on *Galatians*, p. 351.

² "The Gnostic, who wished to advance his antipathy to Judaism under cover of St. Paul's name, would have avoided any expression of deference to

the Apostles of the Circumcision. The Ebionite would have shrunk with loathing from any seeming depreciation of the cherished customs or the acknowledged leaders of his race—as the tone of the author of the Clementines shows. The Catholic writer, forging with a view to 'conciliation,' would be more unlikely than either to invent such a narrative, anxious as he would be to avoid any appearance of conflict between the two great teachers of the Church."—Lightfoot on *Galatians*, p. 98.

Book of Acts and some of the other epistles ascribed to Paul, shows a substantial harmony, along with an occasional diversity that betokens independence — the epistle furnishing details of many incidents in Paul's life that are only mentioned in a general way by the author of the Book of Acts.¹ (4) There is in several respects a strong resemblance between this epistle and those to the Corinthians and the Romans (p. 136).

With regard to *external evidence* there are the usual echoes and reflections in the Apostolic Fathers and in the apologists and other theological writers of the first two centuries;² while many direct quotations are to be found in the writings of the Fathers about the end of the second century.³ The epistle is also included in the Muratorian Canon and Versions of the second century.

¹(1) Cf. i. 15-18 and Acts ix. 19-26—referring to Paul's occupation after his conversion, before he went up to Jerusalem. Besides other points of difference, the epistle mentions a visit to Arabia, of which there is no hint in Acts. In this connection, Paley justly observes, "If the narrative in the Acts had been made up from the epistle, it is impossible that this journey should have been passed over in silence; if the epistle had been composed out of what the author had read of St. Paul's history in the Acts, it is unaccountable that it should have been inserted."

(2) Cf. i. 18, 19 and Acts ix. 26-30, xxii. 18,—with reference to Paul's brief visit to Jerusalem some three years after his conversion.

(3) Cf. ii. 1-10 and Acts xv. 1-21,—with reference to Paul's visit to Jerusalem in connection with the apostolic council, the two narratives varying so much, that many have fallen into the mistake of supposing that they refer to two different occasions.

(4) In ii. 11-14 we have an account of a collision between Peter and Paul, of which there is no trace in Acts.

(5) In iv. 13, 14, there is mention of "an infirmity of the flesh" with which the apostle was afflicted, but to which there is no allusion in Acts, although it is referred to in a somewhat different but equally natural connection in 2 Cor. xii. 7-9.

(6) In vi. 1: "Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of meekness; looking to thyself, lest thou also be tempted," Paley finds a singular harmony of spirit with 2 Cor. ii. 6-8, where the apostle deprecates too great severity in dealing with a certain notorious offender.

(7) In vi. 11: "See with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand," he finds a mark of independence betokening genuineness, when compared with Rom. xvi. 22: "I Tertius, who write the epistle, salute you in the Lord," and the similar expression "the salutation of me Paul with mine own hand," at the end of 1 Corinthians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians. But the force of this argument is somewhat weakened by Philemon, ver. 19: "I Paul write it with mine own hand, I will repay it"—which is not noticed by Paley.

While there are a number of apparent discrepancies between this epistle and the Book of Acts which we are unable to explain, they are not such as to justify any doubt as to the Pauline authorship of the epistle.

² Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Marcion, Justin, Athenagoras, Ophites (quoted by Hippolytus), Tatian, &c.

³ Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian.

2. *The Readers.*

"Unto the churches of Galatia."¹ In the time of the apostle, Galatia might either be understood to refer to the recently created Roman province of that name in Asia Minor, or be used in the older and more popular sense, to designate a broad strip of country in that province, about two hundred miles long, running from south-west to north-east. It is to the inhabitants of Galatia in this latter sense that the epistle has usually been understood to be addressed. The district was peopled by a mixed race of Phrygians, Greeks, Celts, Romans, and Jews, who had successively obtained a footing in it by different means and with varying degrees of success. Of these elements of the population it was the Celtic invaders from Western Europe that had made their influence most strongly felt. They found their way into the country in the third century B.C.; and, after them and the Greek immigrants who were there before them, the country was called Gallo-Græcia. So deep and lasting was their influence, that even in the end of the fourth century A.D. Jerome was able to trace a strong resemblance between the language of Galatia and that spoken on the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine; and modern travellers have been struck with the fair hair and blue eyes that mark an affinity between the pastoral tribes of Galatia and the peasantry of Western France.

Confirmation of the view that it was to the inhabitants of Galatia proper that this epistle was addressed has been found in the *enthusiasm*, as well as the *fickleness* and *love of novelty*, which have been characteristic of the Gauls both in Europe and Asia, and which left their mark on the early history of the Galatian Church.² Traces have also

¹ i. 2. This is the only epistle of St. Paul that is not addressed to a *single church*, or a *single person*—except Ephesians which is to be regarded as a circular-letter (p. 181).

² i. 6: "I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called

you in the grace of Christ unto a different gospel." iii. 1-3: "O foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified? This only would I learn from you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hear-

been discerned of the *superstition, drunkenness, avarice, vanity, irascibility, and strife* that sometimes impair the charm of the Celtic character.¹

According to this theory, Paul's preaching of the Gospel in Galatia was due to his detention in that country on his way to the more promising field of proconsular Asia, caused by an attack of the painful and humiliating malady to which he was liable—probably an aggravated form of ophthalmia.² This visit to Galatia, which took place in the course of his second missionary journey, about 51 A.D., is alluded to in the Book of Acts in the most general terms;³ but from some passages in this epistle, it would appear that his faithful and energetic preaching of Christ crucified had excited great enthusiasm and affection.⁴ A second visit to Galatia is recorded in the Book of Acts,⁵

ing of faith? Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now perfected in the flesh?" iv. 13-16: "Ye did me no wrong; but ye know that because of an infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you the first time (τὸ πρότερον); and that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where then is that gratulation of yourselves? for I bear you witness, that, if possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me. So then am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" v. 7: "Ye were running well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth?"

¹ v. 15: "But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." 19-21: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I forewarn you, even as I did forewarn you, that they which practise such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." 26: "Let us not be vainglorious, provoking one another, envying one another." vi. 3-6: "For if a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. But let each man

prove his own work, and then shall he have his glorying in regard of himself alone, and not of his neighbour. For each man shall bear his own burden. But let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things."

² iv. 13-16 (quoted above). Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 7-10: "And by reason of the exceeding greatness of the revelations—wherefore, that I should not be exalted overmuch, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I should not be exalted overmuch. Concerning this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he hath said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my power is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the strength of Christ may rest upon me. Wherefore I take pleasure in weaknesses, in injuries, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I strong."

³ Acts xvi. 6: "And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia."

⁴ See page 127, note 2.

⁵ Acts xviii. 23: "And having spent some time there (i.e. at Antioch), he departed, and went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, establishing all the disciples."

during the apostle's third missionary journey, about 54 A.D., when he "went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablishing all the disciples." From this language we may infer that not a few congregations had been formed in the district; but it would seem that their feelings towards the apostle and his Gospel had in the meantime undergone a change, and that he had, on this second occasion, to speak to them in tones of warning.¹

While the great majority of scholars are agreed in giving to Galatia the narrower interpretation that is assumed in the foregoing statement, there are a number of critics² who hold that the name is to be taken in its wider meaning as a designation for the Roman province, which included several other districts besides that of the Asiatic Celts. Recently a careful and elaborate argument in favour of this view has been advanced by Professor W. M. Ramsay,³ who brings to the discussion of the question a rare knowledge of the archæology and topography of Asia Minor. He maintains that the Churches to which the epistle was addressed were no other than those of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which were planted by Paul in his first missionary journey, and of which we have an account in Acts xiii., xiv., as well as in the meagre notices above referred to, in chaps. xvi. and xviii. The reasons alleged for this conclusion are summarised below; and it must be admitted that they possess much force and consistency.⁴

The only other intercourse between Paul and the Galatian Churches of which we have any record in the New Testament is that mentioned in the first epistle to the Corinthians,⁵ concerning the collection for the poor of the

¹ i. 9: "As we have said before, so say I now again, If any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which ye received, let him be anathema." iv. 13-16 (quoted p. 128). v. 21 (quoted p. 128).

² Renan, Perrot, Sabatier, Hausrath, Weizsäcker, Pfeleiderer, &c.

³ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chaps i.—viii.

⁴ See Note A at end of this chapter.

⁵ 1 Cor. xvi. 1-6: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the churches of Galatia, so also do ye," &c.

Church at Jerusalem. This communication may have taken place during the apostle's last visit to these Churches, or in the course of his subsequent stay at Ephesus, when the news may have reached him of his converts' lapse from the truth.

Their falling away had evidently been connected with an attempt on the part of Judaising teachers to persuade to an observance of the ceremonial law of Moses, taking advantage, according to the North Galatian theory, of the ritualistic tendencies which, as Cæsar tells us, were characteristic of the Gauls, and which had been fostered by the worship of the Phrygian Cybele, with its "wild ceremonial and hideous mutilations."¹

Although the Galatian Christians were mainly converts from heathenism,² some of them had doubtless been connected with the Jewish synagogues, either as members or as proselytes. Josephus tells us that two thousand Jewish families had been settled in Lydia and Phrygia by Antiochus the Great. Numerous Jews had also been attracted to the cities of Galatia proper by the commercial

¹ iii. 1-3 (quoted p. 127, note 2). iv. 10, 11, 21: "Ye observe days, and months, and seasons, and years. I am afraid of you, lest by any means I have bestowed labour upon you in vain. . . . Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?" v. 2-4, 7, 12: "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that, if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing. Yea, I testify again to every man that receiveth circumcision, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. . . . Ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the law; ye are fallen away from grace. . . . Ye were running well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth? . . . I would that they which unsettle you would even cut themselves off." vi. 12, 13: "As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they compel you to be circumcised; only that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ. For not even they who receive circumcision do themselves keep the law; but they desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh." "In the argu-

ments of the Judaisers, who maintained that the Gentiles must be circumcised and obey the law, there was much that was most plausible. The law was a divine institution, and could not be neglected; the promises were given solely to the Jews, to Abraham and to his seed; the Messiah was the Messiah of the Jews, and those who desired to enter His kingdom must become Jews; Jesus was Himself circumcised and kept the whole law; the original apostles did the same; and if the Gentile converts were not to be required to keep the law, how could they be emancipated from the immoralities in which they were enslaved? These arguments told everywhere, and had they entirely prevailed, Christianity must have dwindled into a short-lived Jewish sect."—*Dods' Introduction to New Testament*.

² iv. 8: "Howbeit at that time, not knowing God, ye were in bondage to them which by nature are no gods." v. 2 (quoted above). vi. 12 (quoted above).

advantages which these afforded; and, according to Josephus, a monumental record of their privileges existed in the temple of Augustus at Ancyra, the ancient capital of the district.¹ The existence of this Jewish element in the Church explains the frequent allusions to the Old Testament, and the influence gained over the impressible Galatians by the Judaizing Christians of Jerusalem, who were "zealous of the law" and desired to make the Gospel tributary to the synagogue and the temple.² They had taken advantage of Paul's absence to undermine his character as an apostle,³ and had endeavoured only too successfully to cause a reaction, in the minds of the Galatians, from the simplicity and spirituality of the Gospel. It was an attempt to recover the ground which they had lost at Antioch and elsewhere.⁴

¹ Antt. xvi. 6. But the genuineness of the passage is disputed. The two other chief cities were Tavium and Pessinus, each of the three having been the capital of a tribe.

² i. 7: "... only there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ." Cf. p. 130, note 1.

³ "Who is this newcomer that he should set himself up against the first apostles and against the word of God itself? What is his authority? He has not seen Christ; he has not been made an apostle. What little he knows of the Gospel has been learned from the Lord's real disciples; and now he revolts against them! Why does he separate himself from them? Why does he not reproduce their preaching in its full and proper form? His mission is purely extemporised; and he has constituted himself an apostle on his own authority and out of his mere fancy. He claims no doubt to have received revelations, and to have had visions vouchsafed to him; but what proof have we that his assertions are true? Must we believe it on the strength of his word? Besides, how can these mere personal revelations that he alleges hold good against the traditional teaching of men who lived so long with Jesus, who saw His face and heard His words?"—Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul* (Eng. Translation), p. 139.

⁴ ii. 4, 5: "And that because of the false brethren privily brought in, who

came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you." ii. 11-14 (quoted next page, note 4). Acts xv. 1: "And certain men came down from Judæa and taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved." 23-29: "And they wrote thus by them, The apostles and the elder brethren unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting: Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls; to whom we gave no commandment; it seemed good unto us, having come to one accord, to choose out men and send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who themselves also shall tell you the same things by word of mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, it shall be well with you. Fare ye well."

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

From what has been already said as to the allusions in this epistle to the apostle's second visit to Galatia, we may infer that its composition was subsequent to 54 A.D., if we take Galatia in the narrower sense, or to 51 A.D., if we understand it to mean the Roman province of that name, which included the cities of Asia Minor visited by Paul in his first missionary journey. The expression "so soon" or rather "so quickly"¹ (R.V.), has been thought to imply that the epistle must have been written very shortly after the second visit. But if there is any reference here to a previous event, it was probably their *calling*, or conversion, that the apostle had in view; and the language would be equally appropriate whether an interval of five or of ten years had elapsed. The expression, however, may be taken simply to refer to the rapidity with which they succumbed to the influence of the false teachers.

Another note of time has been found in the apostle's allusions to his two visits to Jerusalem.² But we are not justified in assuming that these were the only visits he had paid to the capital since he became a Christian. For his object is not to give a complete narrative of events, but to meet objections and correct misrepresentations; and he only refers to matters of fact in so far as they have a bearing on the question of his apostleship. If we identify the second visit referred to with the third one recorded in the Book of Acts,³ in connection with the Council of Jerusalem, and suppose the difference with Peter at Antioch⁴ to have taken place soon afterwards, the epistle

¹ i. 6—*οὕτως ταχέως*.

² i. 18: "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days."
ii. 1: "Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me."

³ Acts xv.

⁴ ii. 11-21: "But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face,

because he stood condemned. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him; inasmuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the

could not have been written before 51 A.D. This or a little later is the date which some would assign to it. But in all probability a considerable interval must have elapsed between the meeting of the Council at Jerusalem (whose peaceable decrees were taken to Antioch by the hands of Barsabbas and Silas, accompanying Paul and Barnabas), and the arrival at Antioch of Peter, and subsequently, of certain men who "came from James," and induced Peter to withdraw from the fellowship of the Gentile Christians. This incident, which seems to have provoked the violent resentment of the Judaisers,¹ probably occurred during Paul's visit to Antioch about 54 A.D., mentioned in a later chapter,² and if so, the epistle may have been written in the course of the apostle's third missionary journey, on which he entered soon afterwards. The general opinion has been that it was thus sent from Ephesus during the apostle's long residence in that city. But there seems to be good reason to

gospel, I said unto Cephas before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? . . ."

¹ "The discussion which took place at Antioch seems to have been a regular declaration of war. From this hour the struggle became general, and was carried out on both sides without truce or restraint. The Judaizing opposition, originating in Palestine, extends and breaks out everywhere; we find it disturbing Galatia, Ephesus, and the Church at Corinth by turns; and, out-running the apostle of the Gentiles himself, it gets to Rome before him. The Judaizing party had its missionaries who followed in Paul's track, and in every place strove with embittered zeal to undermine his authority, to seduce his disciples, and to destroy his work under the pretence of rectifying it. It was a countermission systematically organised. The delegates arrived with letters of recommendation, and gave themselves out as representatives of the Twelve, denying Paul's apostleship, and sowing distrust and suspicion of him everywhere by their odious calumnies."—*Sabatier*.

² Acts xviii. 22, 23: "And when he had landed at Cæsarea, he went up and saluted the church, and went

down to Antioch. And having spent some time there, he departed." "En tout cas après la conférence de Jérusalem. Selon plusieurs, immédiatement après, et avant la départ de Paul pour sa seconde mission. Cette opinion me paraît peu vraisemblable. L'église de Jérusalem avait formellement déléguée deux de ses membres, Silas et Barsabas (Act xv. 22), pour porter, avec Paul et Barnabas, sa réponse officielle à l'église d'Antioche. Pourquoi Pierre s'y serait-il rendu dans ce moment-là? Puis, qu'auraient eu à faire là des envoyés de Jacques (ii. 11)? Jacques aurait-il délégué une députation en son propre nom à côté de celle de l'église? Enfin il n'est guère vraisemblable qu'après le conflit que va raconter l'apôtre, celui-ci eût proposé immédiatement à Barnabas de recommencer ensemble une nouvelle mission (Act xv. 36). Je pense donc qu'il vaut mieux placer cette visite de Pierre à Antioche et son conflit avec Paul après le second voyage de mission, durant le séjour mentionné brièvement par Luc, Act xviii. 23, en ces mots: "et y ayant passé un certain temps." Le souvenir des conférences de Jérusalem était déjà un peu effacé; à cette distance, le conflit se comprend plus aisément." — Godet, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, i. p. 237.

assign to it a still later date, somewhere between 2 Corinthians and Romans, as we are now doing. For when we compare it with the epistles just mentioned, we find a strong resemblance to both of these—to the former in the writer's tone of feeling regarding his apostleship and the attacks made upon him; to the latter, in language, reasoning, and general cast of doctrine.¹ It was manifestly written previous to Romans, being to it as "the rough model to the finished statue"; and it appears also to have been

¹ The following are among the most striking coincidences between this epistle and that to the Romans. On the whole the resemblance is greater than we find between any other of Paul's epistles, except Colossians and Ephesians, which were certainly contemporaneous. For other instances see Lightfoot, pp. 45-49.

iii. 6: "Even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness," *cf.* Rom. iv. 3: "For what saith the scripture? And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." iii. 11: "Now that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, is evident: for, The righteous shall live by faith," *cf.* Rom. i. 17: "For therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith: as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith." iii. 12: "And the law is not of faith; but, He that doeth them shall live in them," *cf.* Rom. x. 5: "For Moses writeth that the man that doeth the righteousness which is of the law shall live thereby." iii. 22: "Howbeit the scripture hath shut up all things under sin, that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe," *cf.* Rom. xi. 32: "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all." iii. 27: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ," *cf.* Rom. vi. 3: "Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death?" and Rom. xiii. 14: "But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." iv. 5, 6: "That he might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father," *cf.* Rom. viii. 14, 15: "... ye received

the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." ii. 16: "Yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law: because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified," *cf.* Rom. iii. 20: "Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through the law cometh the knowledge of sin." (In both cases there is a similar modification and application of Psalm cxliii. 2: "In thy sight shall no man living be justified.") ii. 20: "I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself up for me," *cf.* Rom. vi. 6, 8: "Knowing this, that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin;... But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him." v. 14: "For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," *cf.* Rom. xiii. 8-10: "For he that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law," &c. v. 16: "But I say, Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh," *cf.* Rom. viii. 4: "That the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." v. 17: "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the things that ye would," *cf.* Rom. vii. 23, 25: "... So then I myself with the mind serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin."

written when the tension of the apostle's feelings was less severe than when he wrote 2 Corinthians. With great probability, therefore, we may place its composition in the period of transition between these two epistles, towards the close of the year 57 A.D. It may have been written in the apostle's journey from Macedonia to Greece,¹ for the expression "all the brethren which are with me,"² in the opening salutation, would be more likely to be used by the apostle while he was the centre of a travelling party, than if he had been residing at the seat of a congregation.³

4. *Character and Contents.*

From first to last the epistle is marked by a conspicuous unity of purpose—its main object being *to counteract the Judaising process* that had been going on for some time in the Galatian Church. An important factor in that process had been the denial of Paul's apostolic authority on the ground that he had never seen the Lord, and that he owed his knowledge of the Gospel to the apostles who had their headquarters at Jerusalem. On the question of circumcision and the observance of the law it was alleged that he was particularly to be distrusted, as a renegade from the religion of his fathers.

Without a word of his usual praise and thanksgiving, the apostle begins with *a bold assertion of his apostolic office* as directly conferred upon him by the Lord.⁴ This is followed by an account of his intercourse and relations with the other apostles after his conversion, showing that he owed his conception of the Gospel not to them, but to influence exerted on him from above.⁵ His ministry had

¹ Acts xx. 1, 2.

² i. 2.

³ The subject is not one for dogmatizing, for there is great truth in Professor Warfield's remark: "The plain fact is that this epistle is unique among Paul's letters in its entire lack of any allusion capable of easy interpretation, to the apostle's circumstances and surroundings at the time when he wrote it." But in such a case an argument from the

general character of the epistle, such as that indicated above, is our safest guide.

⁴ i. 1: "Paul, an apostle (not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead)."

⁵ e.g. in the solitudes of Arabia, i. 17: "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me: but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned unto Damascus."

been acknowledged by the reputed pillars of the Church (James and Cephas and John) as having the same divine sanction for the Gentiles, as their preaching had for the Jews. Since that time he had persistently maintained the freedom of his converts from the bondage of the Law, and had even gone so far on one occasion as to rebuke Peter for his dissimulation, when he would have withdrawn from fellowship with the Gentile Christians at Antioch.¹

Having thus disposed of the personal aspect of the question, he passes to its more *doctrinal aspect* by appealing to the spiritual blessing which the Galatians had experienced under his ministry when he preached the Gospel to them without any mixture of Jewish ritual. He proves that the Law has been superseded by the Gospel, the latter being the full assertion of that principle of faith that had always lain at the foundation of men's acceptance with God, even in the time of Abraham. He shows that the Law given by Moses could only create a sense of sin without providing a remedy. It was but a temporary means of training God's people for the enjoyment of their privileges as His children—standing in the same relation to the Gospel, as the children of Hagar the bondwoman did to Isaac the child of promise.²

In chapters v.—vi. the apostle warns them against the abuse of their spiritual freedom, setting before them the true principles of Christian morality, and exhorting them to several duties of which they had need to be reminded. He concludes with a postscript in his own handwriting,³ in which he sums up the argument with an emphasis and decision that contrast strongly with the hesitation apparent

¹ i. 18—ii.

² iii.—iv.

³ vi. 11-18: "See with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand. As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they compel you to be circumcised; only that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ. For not even they who receive circumcision do themselves keep the law; but they desire to have you

circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh. But far be it from me to glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world hath been crucified unto me, and I unto the world. For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as shall walk by this rule, peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God," &c.

in some of the earlier passages, where he is trying to vindicate his conduct without casting any unnecessary reflections on the other apostles. He exposes the unworthy motives of his opponents, reaffirms the supreme importance of the Cross of Christ and of regeneration in Him¹ as essential to the true Israel of God, declaring circumcision or uncircumcision to be a matter of indifference,² and appeals to the marks which he bears of recent persecution, as the seal of his apostleship and the token of his renewed devotion to the Saviour. "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus."³ Finally he invokes the divine blessing on his converts in terms specially fitted to lift them above the thought of carnal ordinances—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren."⁴

The whole epistle is marked by a force and vehemence that strain the apostle's power of expression to the utmost. It has done more than any other book of the New Testament for the emancipation of Christians, not only from the yoke of Judaism, but from every other form of externalism that has ever threatened the freedom and spirituality of the Gospel.⁵ It was Luther's favourite epistle, to which he was "wedded," as he said; and from it he largely drew his inspiration in his conflict with the Church of Rome.

¹ The name of Christ occurs forty-three times in this short epistle.

² "The Jewish teachers put it in the forefront. They said that 'but for circumcision heaven and earth could not exist.' . . . St. Paul did his work so completely that thenceforth in the Christian Church the question as to the need of circumcision for Gentiles was at an end. In the epistle of Barnabas circumcision is even treated with contempt; and its institution attributed to the deception of an evil angel. In the Ignatian letter to Philadelphia we read of 'the false Jew of the earthly circumcision.' Even in the Ebionite Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, they who desire to be de-Hellenised (ἀφελληνισθῆναι, 'to be un-Greeked') must be so not by

circumcision, but by baptism and the new birth. Of circumcision not a word is said, even by these extreme Judaists." —Farrar, *Messages of the Books*, p. 250.

³ vi. 17 (τὰ στίγματα). With this we may connect the fact that in his very next epistle (if the order we have adopted be correct) Paul styles himself "a bondservant of Jesus Christ" (Rom. i. 1, R.V. margin), being the first time, so far as is known, that he ever so designated himself.

⁴ vi. 18. This form of benediction is only found elsewhere in Philippians (iv. 23, R.V.) and in Philemon (ver. 25).

⁵ The words "free," "freedom," "make free" (ἐλευθερός, ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω), occur eleven times in the epistle.

NOTE A (p. 129).

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS for South Galatian theory. Nos. (3), (4), and (5), are those on which Professor Ramsay lays most stress.

(1) The cities referred to (Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe) can be proved to have formed part of the Roman province of Galatia in the time of the apostle. They were important centres of Roman civilization; and the Roman name "Galatians" was the only acceptable title by which they could be addressed in common. It was a mode of address congenial to the mind of the apostle, who followed the Roman lines of communication in his mission work, and regarded the Roman empire as the appointed field of his labours.

(2) If it was not to these Churches that this epistle was addressed, they are left without any share in the apostle's correspondence (so far as it has been preserved to us) although they were the first-fruits of his labours among the Gentiles, had been repeatedly visited by him, and were counted worthy of a prominent place in the history of the Church by the writer of the Book of Acts. On the other hand, how are we to explain the almost entire absence of information in that book regarding the planting of the Churches in North Galatia (if they were the recipients of the apostle's letter)—considering the fulness with which the apostle's work in other parts of Asia Minor during the same period is narrated?

(3) In Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23—the only two passages in which Galatia is named in the Book of Acts—a close examination does away with the impression that there is any reference to North Galatia. (a) In the former passage, the expression "the region of Phrygia and Galatia" (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, R.V.) is equivalent to the Phrygo-Galatic country, and denotes the district in which Antioch and Iconium were situated, both of these cities being of Phrygian origin, and their inhabitants priding themselves on their superiority to the neighbouring tribes (the Pisidians and the Lycaonians respectively), who were still comparatively barbarous and little imbued with the Græco-Roman civilization of which Antioch and Iconium were becoming centres. Moreover, the statement "when they were come over against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia" does not harmonise, geographically, with the supposition that their route had lain through North Galatia; and even if it were in that sense that we are to interpret ver. 6 "they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia" (*διήλθον*), we should still be without any record of Paul's having preached there. (b) In the other passage (xviii. 23), "the region of Galatia and Phrygia" (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*) is to be taken in

a similar sense, "the region of Galatia" being in this case put before Phrygia, because the first two cities he would visit on the route (Lystra and Derbe), although in the Roman province of Galatia, were not in Phrygo-Galatia, as Antioch and Iconium were, which he would subsequently visit. In any case, Paul must have visited these cities of South Galatia where he had already planted churches, for it is said that he "went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia *in order, establishing all the disciples*" (καθεξῆς . . . στηρίξων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς); and this does not fit in with the supposition that in making for the province of Asia (which was evidently his destination in this journey, as he had been withheld from preaching there on the previous occasion) he had taken the circuitous course through Cappadocia and North Galatia which was open to him. Besides, that route was a very unlikely one both for the apostle and for Jewish emissaries (such as those referred to in Gal. v. 7-10), being comparatively unfrequented and affording few opportunities for the propagation either of the Jewish or the Christian faith. In these circumstances the language of xix. 1 : "Paul having passed through the upper country (τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη) came to Ephesus," is to be understood as referring to the route which led to Ephesus by way of Antioch, across the great central plateau.

Confirmation of this interpretation of "the Galatian country" and "Phrygia" is found in the fact that inscriptions have been discovered in which Phrygia (as distinct from the country of the Celts) is mentioned as one of a number of districts in the Roman province of Galatia; and also in the analogy afforded by the name of Pontus Galaticus, which was applied to a portion of the district of Pontus that had been added to the Roman province of Galatia.

(4) It is generally admitted that in his epistles Paul uses geographical names in their Roman sense (so, even the word Galatia in 1 Cor. xvi. 1 : "as I gave order to the churches of Galatia, so also do ye"); and this is alleged to be a feature of those parts of the Book of Acts which were composed under the immediate influence of the apostle, as compared, for example, with earlier portions of the Book. With this Pauline usage agrees also that of Peter in the beginning of his First Epistle, where, summing up "the whole of Asia Minor north of the Taurus range," he says : "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

(5) With regard to the apostle's words in Gal. iv. 13 : "Ye did me no wrong : but ye know that because of an infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you the first time : " it is held to be incredible that the apostle could have thought of crossing North Galatia merely for the purpose of preaching in Bithynia or Pontus, or that he should have set himself to its evangelization—with its scattered cities and fatiguing journeys—when recovering from sickness. The true ex-

planation is alleged to be that in his first missionary journey Paul was prostrated with a malarious fever at Perga, where he not improbably arrived during the hot season, possibly in June. Such an illness is a common experience of travellers at the present day; and a remedy is frequently sought in such a change to the hills as that which Paul obtained when he came to Antioch (Acts xiii. 13, 14). Hitherto his face had been turned westward (Perga being on the way to Rome), and it was owing to the change of plan involved in the journey to Antioch that John Mark, who had come with Paul and Barnabas as far as Perga, returned to Jerusalem.

(6) The enthusiastic reception accorded to him by the Galatians, to which the apostle refers in the epistle (iv. 14, 15: "And that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where then is that gratulation of yourselves? for I bear you witness, that, if possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me." i. 8: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any gospel") corresponds with the account given in the Book of Acts of the wonderful impression made at Antioch and elsewhere, but especially at Lystra, where the cry was raised "the gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." The language of vi. 17: "From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus," may also refer to the effects of the "persecutions, sufferings; what things befell me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra." 2 Tim. iii. 11.

(7) The charge of inconsistency on the part of the apostle which is implied in Gal. v. 11: "But I, brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?" was no doubt occasioned by his conduct in causing Timothy to be circumcised at Lystra, and would be very likely to be brought against him by the Jews in that and the neighbouring cities.

(8) The repeated allusions to Barnabas (Gal. ii. 1, 9, 13: "... insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation") give the impression that Barnabas was personally known to the readers, and seem more natural if addressed to the Churches in South Galatia, where Barnabas had been a fellow-labourer with Paul.

(9) The words in Gal. ii. 5: "To whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might *continue with you*," have a more definite meaning if the readers were in possession of the gospel before the occasion referred to. But this could only have been if they heard the apostle preach during his first missionary journey—when he visited the cities of South Galatia.

(10) The language of Gal. iii. 28: "There can be neither *Jew nor Greek*, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus," would also be more

appropriate if addressed to Churches in which Greek culture was widely diffused. As regards the Jewish element, it is known to have existed both in North and South Galatia.

(11) Although the supposition of Celtic influence in the Galatian Church has to be given up, an equivalent is found in the Oriental character of the Phrygians and Lycaonians, which gave them a "strong natural affinity for the Hebraic type of Christianity."

(12) An argument is derived from the testimony borne by various readings of Codex Bezae in favour of this interpretation. Special authority is claimed for this MS. in any question affecting Asia Minor, as its readings in such cases (unlike those referring to Europe) are often valuable, and appear to embody a tradition of the country at least as old as the second century.

It may be well to add that according to Professor Ramsay the prevailing misconception as to the meaning of Galatia has been due to the fact that "during the second century the term Galatia ceased to bear the sense which it had to a Roman in the first century. The whole of central and southern Lycaonia was, before the middle of the second century, separated from Galatia and formed into a province Lycaonia."

CHAPTER XIII.

"THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE ROMANS."

1. *Authorship.*

THE Pauline authorship of this epistle is universally admitted. There is no lack of external evidence in its favour¹; but its strong resemblance to Galatians is enough to prove its common authorship with that epistle.

Moreover, a comparison of its contents with other Pauline epistles and with the Book of Acts affords valuable confirmation of its genuineness and authenticity. Besides the remarkable coincidences with regard to the time and place of its composition (p. 146), the following points are worthy of notice. (1) The statement of the writer's long-felt desire to visit Rome, and of his hope of now doing so after fulfilling his mission to Jerusalem, is in harmony with the purpose expressed by the apostle at Ephesus some time before.² (2) The request which he makes to the Christians at Rome that they would unite with him in prayer that he "may be delivered from them that are disobedient in Judæa," corresponds with the apostle's expression of

¹ It is quoted expressly or virtually by Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Basilides, Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Tatian, Irenæus (reporting the testimony of certain Elders), Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and also in the Letter to Diognetus, and that of the Church of Vienne and Lyons. It is also contained in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and in the Muratorian Canon.

² i. 13: "And I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (and was hindered hitherto), that I might have some fruit in you also, even as in the rest of the Gentiles." xv. 22-26: "Wherefore also I was hindered these

many times from coming to you: but now, having no more any place in these regions, and having these many years a longing to come unto you, whensoever I go unto Spain (for I hope to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first in some measure I shall have been satisfied with your company)—but now, I say, I go unto Jerusalem, ministering unto the saints. For it hath been the good pleasure of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor among the saints that are at Jerusalem." Acts xix. 21: "Now after these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed

feeling in his last journey to Jerusalem.¹ (3) The teaching in this epistle and in Galatians is in striking harmony with Paul's mission as the apostle of the Gentiles, and goes far to explain the accusation brought against him on his last recorded visit to Jerusalem.² (4) The nature of the visit to Rome contemplated by the writer of this epistle, "that I may come unto you in joy through the will of God, and together with you find rest"³ is so very different from what the apostle actually experienced, when he was carried a prisoner to Rome, that it could not have been so described by any one who derived his information from the Book of Acts.

From one of the closing salutations we learn that the epistle was written by Tertius as the apostle's amanuensis.⁴

2. *The Readers.*

"To all that are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints."⁵ These words and the absence of any mention of bishops and deacons either in this epistle or in the account of the welcome which Paul received from the Roman brethren three years afterwards⁶ would seem to indicate that there was no formally organised Church in the

through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."

¹ xv. 30, 31: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me; that I may be delivered from them that are disobedient in Judæa, and that my ministration which I have for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints." Acts xx. 22, 23: "And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost testifieth unto me in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me."

² Acts xxi. 17-21: "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he re-

hearsed one by one the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And they, when they heard it, glorified God; and they said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of them which have believed; and they are all zealous for the law: and they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs."

³ xv. 32.

⁴ xvi. 22: "I Tertius, who write the epistle, salute you in the Lord."

⁵ i. 7.

⁶ Acts xxviii. 15: "And from thence (*i.e.* from Rome) the brethren, when they heard of us, came to meet us as far as The Market of Appius, and The Three Taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage."

city, but merely groups of believers meeting for worship in private houses.¹ They seem to have been mainly of Gentile origin.² But the whole tenor of the epistle, abounding as it does in quotations³ from the Old Testament and in allusions to the Jewish Law, clearly shows that they had been led to a knowledge of the truth through their connection with the Jewish faith as proselytes of the gate (indeed, some of them appear to have been born Jews)⁴ and hence the expression, "I speak to men that know the law."⁵ The Jews had for a long time been a numerous and powerful section of the community at Rome,⁶ and their religion had gained great influence among the educated classes. The introduction of Christianity among them had apparently been due not to apostolic labour (certainly not to that of Peter,⁷ whose alleged episcopate of twenty-five years at Rome is unsupported by evidence in the New Testament or elsewhere), but to the influence of Christian travellers, especially, we may believe, of the "sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes,"

¹ xvi. 3-5: "Salute Prisca and Aquila my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles: and salute the church that is in their house," *cf.* ver. 23: "Gaius my host, and of the whole church, saluteth you."

² i. 5, 6: "Through whom we received grace and apostleship, unto obedience of faith among all the nations, for his name's sake: among whom are ye also, called to be Jesus Christ's." 13-15: "And I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (and was hindered hitherto), that I might have some fruit in you also, even as in the rest of the Gentiles. I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you also that are in Rome." xi. 13-24: "But I speak to you that are Gentiles," &c. xv. 15, 16: "But I write the more boldly unto you in some measure, as putting you again in remembrance, because of the grace that was given me of God, that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, minis-

tering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost."

³ More than sixty in number.

⁴ ii. 17: "But if thou bearest the name of a Jew, and retest upon the law." xvi. 7: "Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen."

⁵ vii. 1.

⁶ Thousands of Jewish captives were brought to Rome by Pompey from the East, about 63 B.C.; and from that time forward the Jews continued to grow in numbers and influence until, in the next century, Seneca could say of them, *Victoribus victi leges dederunt*, "The conquered have given laws to their conquerors."

⁷ "It is not without significance that, among the frescoes of the Catacombs, the only figure of an apostle which is represented separately from the rest of the twelve is that of St. Paul, described as *PAULUS PASTOR APOSTOLUS*, side by side with a figure of the Good Shepherd. In none of the Catacombs is St. Peter specially designated by name or attribute."—Marriott's *Testimony of the Catacombs*.

who had witnessed the wonderful works of God on the great day of Pentecost.¹ Although Paul had never been at Rome, many of the Christians there were personally known to him—possibly owing to their banishment from Rome by the Edict of Claudius,—as we may infer from the numerous greetings in the closing chapter.² From the apostle's language it would appear that the condition of the Christians at Rome was in many respects satisfactory,³ and in keeping with this we learn from Tacitus that a great multitude of Christians suffered martyrdom there in the reign of Nero a few years later. But there are also expressions which would indicate the existence of weakness and disagreement among them, in connection with certain scruples felt by some of their number with regard to the eating of animal food and the observance of days and seasons.⁴ They were also liable to many serious temptations, as we may infer from the exhortations in chapters xii., xiii.; and their spiritual life required to be strengthened.⁵

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

From the writer's circumstances, as stated in the epistle, viewed in the light of relative passages in the New Testament, we gather that the epistle was written towards the close of Paul's second visit to Corinth (early in 58 A.D.), on the eve of his journey to Jerusalem to carry up the alms collected for the poor brethren there, after which he was to make his long-intended visit to Rome.⁶

¹ Acts ii. 10.

² But see pp. 149-50.

³ i. 8: "First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world." xv. 14: "And I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye yourselves are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another."

⁴ Chap. xv.

⁵ i. 11: "For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established."

⁶ xv. 22-26 (quoted p. 142, note 2); Acts xx. 1-3 (quoted p. 146, note 6); xxiv. 17-19: "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings: amidst which they found me purified in the temple, with no crowd, nor yet with tumult: but there were certain Jews from Asia—who ought to have been here before thee, and to make accusation, if they had aught against me"; 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4 (quoted p. 121, (3), and 104, note 3); 2 Cor. viii. 1-4: "Moreover, brethren, we make known to you the grace of God which hath been given

In remarkable harmony with this inference as to the *date* of the epistle are the facts (1) that of those who "accompanied Paul as far as Asia"¹ on his last journey towards Jerusalem, three, namely, Sosipater, Gaius, and Timothy send their salutations in this epistle²; (2) that salutations are sent to Priscilla and Aquila, who are mentioned as having rendered great service and incurred great danger on behalf of the apostle and in the interests of the Church of the Gentiles³—which finds confirmation in statements made elsewhere relating to a somewhat earlier period⁴; (3) that the apostle speaks of having preached the Gospel "from Jerusalem, and round about even unto Illyricum,"⁵ adjoining the western frontier of Macedonia—a statement which could not have been made before his second recorded visit to Europe,⁶ as on the first occasion his visit was confined to the towns along its eastern coast.⁷

Equally in keeping with the inference as to the *place* of composition, viz., Corinth, are the facts (1) that "Gaius my host" and "Erastus the treasurer of the city," send their greetings,⁸ Gaius being elsewhere mentioned by the apostle⁹ as one of the very few persons at Corinth whom he had

in the churches of Macedonia; how that in much proof of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For according to their power, I bear witness, yea and beyond their power, they gave of their own accord, beseeching us with much intreaty in regard of this grace and the fellowship in the ministering to the saints;" 2 Cor. ix. 1, 2 (quoted p. 120, note A (1)).

¹ Acts xx. 4.

² xvi. 21-23.

³ xvi. 3-5 (quoted p. 144, note 1).

⁴ Acts xviii. 1-3: "After these things he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And he found a certain Jew named Aquila, a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome: and he came unto them; and because he was of the same trade, he abode with them, and they wrought; for by their trade they were tent-makers." ver. 18: "And Paul, having

tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila." ver. 26: "And he (*i.e.* Apollos) began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully." 1 Cor. xvi. 19: "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house."

⁵ xv. 19.

⁶ Acts xx. 1, 2: "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece."

⁷ Acts xvi.—xviii.

⁸ xvi. 23.

⁹ 1 Cor. i. 14.

himself baptized, while Erastus, in the Book of Acts, is sent by the apostle from Ephesus into Macedonia along with Timothy, being "two of them that ministered unto him"¹ and is mentioned at a still later period, in St. Paul's second epistle to Timothy, as having then "abode at Corinth"²; (2) that Phœbe, by whom the epistle was apparently sent to Rome, is commended as "a servant of the church that is at Cenchreæ,"³ which was one of the ports of Corinth that had been previously visited by Paul.⁴

4. *Character and Contents.*

In an intellectual sense this epistle may be said to be the apostle's *masterpiece*; theologically it is the most important of all his epistles. Coleridge has pronounced it "the most profound work ever written." Calvin said of it that "it opened the door to all the treasures in the Scriptures"; while Luther considered it "the chief book of the New Testament, and the purest Gospel."

As already mentioned, it bears a striking resemblance to Galatians (written a short time before it) not only in individual words and phrases, but in the general drift of its teaching with regard to the superiority of the Gospel to the Law. It is, however, more dispassionate in tone, being less personal in its character, and containing a more full and comprehensive treatment of the subject.

It may be said to embody the results of the recent controversy with the Judaizers, stated in a logical and systematic form, and at the same time with such moderation and caution as was fitted to disarm the prejudices and conciliate the favour of the Jewish element in the Church. That element had not yet been infected with the leaven of

¹ Acts xix. 22.

² 2 Tim. iv. 20.

³ xvi. 1, 2: "I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a servant of the church that is at Cenchreæ: that ye receive her in the Lord, worthily of the saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever matter she may have need of you: for she herself also hath been a

succourer of many, and of mine own self." In connection with the mention of Phœbe it is interesting to observe that even at this early period the Christian Church had learned to appreciate the value of female energy and devotion.

⁴ Acts xviii. 18: "having shorn his head in Cenchreæ."

malignant bigotry, emanating from Jerusalem, which had made its influence felt in so many of the other Churches where Paul had laboured; and the epistle was intended to serve the purpose of prevention rather than cure. It was also intended to pave the way for the apostle's visit to the Church at Rome, whose destined greatness he foresaw, and by whose assistance he hoped to obtain a still wider field for his missionary labours.¹

Being addressed to the Christians of imperial Rome, this epistle is distinguished by its *cosmopolitan* tone, which is shown at the outset by a reference to the "obedience of faith" to which "all the nations" are called in "Jesus Christ our Lord."² It sets forth the *universality of the Gospel*³ as "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek"⁴; and brings out the contrast not between Moses and Christ, as in Galatians, but between *Adam* and *Christ* as the representatives of *nature* and of *grace*.⁵ With no less propriety, in writing to the inhabitants of a city that was the seat of justice for the whole civilised world, the apostle looks at the great question of salvation from a *judicial* or *forensic* point of view,—exhibiting the bearing of the Gospel on the interests of law and righteousness, proving the guilt of all men, both Jews and Gentiles, at the bar of divine judgment, and proclaiming the doctrine of justification by faith as the only means of acceptance with God.⁶

¹ "In time of war, a good general knows well the importance of seizing commanding positions, and discerns them by a sort of intuition. St. Paul had this faculty, as a leader of that little army which, with its spiritual weapons of warfare, went forth to subdue the nations to Christ: and, while journeying in the east, he kept this steadily in view: 'I must also see Rome.'"—Fraser's *Synoptical Lectures*, Third Series, p. 13.

² i. 4, 5: "Who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead; even Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we received grace and apostleship, unto obedience of faith

among all the nations, for his name's sake."

³ The word "all" (*πᾶς*) occurs nearly seventy times in the epistle.

⁴ i. 16.

⁵ v. 12-21.

⁶ The words *δικαιοσύνη* ("righteousness"), *δικαίω* ("justify"), *δικαίωμα* ("ordinance," &c.), occur oftener in this than in all the other epistles of Paul put together. Another word of frequent occurrence is *λογίζομαι* ("reckon," "impute"), which the apostle uses eleven times in chap. iv. in connection with the doctrine of Justification.

Having set forth the great scheme of redemption, the apostle deals with its bearing on the fortunes of *the chosen people*.¹ He shows that their failure to enter into the blessings of the New Covenant, which gave him "great sorrow and unceasing pain in (his) heart," was due to their own spiritual blindness, as foretold in the writings of the prophets. Their recent experience was in keeping with the analogy of God's dealings with them in the past, but their rejection was only partial and temporary, destined to lead in the mysterious wisdom of divine providence to a still fuller manifestation of divine goodness. "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all."

After this lesson on the philosophy of history, in which the apostle seeks to justify the ways of God to men, and is moved again and again to adoration of the divine wisdom, he exhorts his readers to the cultivation of various graces and virtues as the best refutation of the charge of lawlessness to which the Gospel of the free grace of God is liable.³ In conclusion, he sends numerous greetings to individual Christians with whom he is personally acquainted, many of whom had rendered valuable service to the Church, and with whom he had probably been brought into contact at Ephesus and other great centres.

There are several breaks in the epistle where it might have fitly terminated.⁴ This circumstance, together with variations in the arrangement of the last two chapters in some of the MSS.,⁵ and the blanks left in a MS. of some importance⁶ where the words "in Rome" occur in the opening chapter (vv. 7 and 14), has given rise to the idea that the

¹ Chaps. ix.—xi.

² xi. 32.

³ Chaps. xii.—xiv.

⁴ xv. 33, xvi. 20, and 24 (A.V.).

⁵ The closing doxology (xvi. 25-27) is absent from several MSS., in others it follows xiv. 23, and in the Alexandrine MS. it occurs there as well as at the end of our epistle. Authorities are

also divided as to the place to be assigned to the Benediction, whether at ver. 24 or at the close of the epistle. In the R.V. it is retained only in the latter place. It is suggestive, too, that the last two chapters were omitted in Marcion's copy of the epistle.

⁶ Cod. Harleianus (G).

epistle was sent as an encyclical or circular-letter, with varying terminations, to a number of Churches.¹

We may add that the fact of this epistle, though addressed to Romans, being written in Greek, is not only in keeping with the apostle's literary habit, but is also in accordance with the general use of Greek at that time throughout the civilised world. The Christian congregations of the first century were like so many Greek colonies, as far as language was concerned; and it was not till the latter part of the second century that a Latin version and a Latin literature arose, chiefly for the benefit of the Christians in North Africa.²

¹ The list of salutations at the close, also, is scarcely what we should have expected in a letter addressed to the Christians at Rome (where Paul had not yet been, and where "all forsook" him some years later), both on account of its great length, and in several of the names and designations it contains, e.g., "Salute Eprenetus, the firstfruits of Asia," "Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners," "Salute Prisca and Aquila,"—who were at Ephesus a year before (1 Cor. xvi. 19), and receive greetings in the same place some years later (2 Tim. iv. 19). Hence it has been conjectured that the salutations were added to the epistle when a copy of it was sent to Ephesus, which is the view taken by Schultz, Ewald, Renan, Reuss, and Farrar. On the other hand, it has to be observed that the preponderance of Greek names in the list is no argument against the Roman destination of the epistle, as the membership of the Church

at Rome was for a long time mainly of a Greek character. This need not surprise us, for "the Greeks were the most energetic, as they were also the most intelligent and inquiring of the middle classes in Rome at this time. The successful tradesmen, the skilled artisans, the confidential servants and retainers of noble houses—almost all the activity and enterprise of the common people, whether for good or for evil—were Greek." No less than ten of the names in the list (three of them comparatively rare, viz., Tryphæna, Tryphosa, and Patrobas), have been discovered in the Columbaria ("pigeon-holes"), where the ashes of the dead were placed, on the outskirts of Rome. (See Lightfoot on *Philippians*, pp. 169-176.)

² "Even later, the ill-spelt, ill-written, inscriptions of the catacombs, with their strange intermingling of Greek and Latin characters, show that the church (in Rome) was not yet fully nationalised."—Lightfoot.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EPISTLES OF THE IMPRISONMENT.

AFTER the letter to the Romans there is an interval of three or four years before we can trace any further correspondence on the part of the apostle. Leaving Corinth in the spring of 58 A.D., he made his way to Jerusalem along the coast of Macedonia and Asia Minor. In the course of his journey we find him taking farewell of one Church after another, under a strong presentiment of approaching calamity. Soon after his arrival in Jerusalem, he was arrested on account of a tumult resulting from a last effort which he made to conciliate the Jewish Christians. Removed as a prisoner to Cæsarea, he was there detained in custody for two years under the governor Felix; but, soon after the appointment of Festus as the successor of Felix, the apostle appealed for trial to the imperial judgment-seat, and was sent to Rome accordingly, under a military escort. After a disastrous voyage, in which he suffered shipwreck on the island of Malta, where he had to pass the winter, he arrived at Rome in the early summer of 61 A.D.—his long-cherished wish at length realised, but in a very different manner from what he had at one time anticipated. Owing to protracted delay in the hearing of his case—a thing by no means uncommon under the Emperors¹—he remained for two years in military custody,

¹ "Thus, we find that Tiberius was in the habit of delaying the hearing of causes, and retaining the accused in prison unheard, merely out of procrastination. . . . Moreover, it was quite in accordance with the regular course of Roman jurisprudence, that the Court should grant a long suspension of the cause, on the petition of the prosecutor, that he might be allowed time to procure

the attendance of witnesses from a distance. . . . We read of an interval of twelve months permitted during Nero's reign, in the case of an accusation against Suilius, for misdemeanours committed during his government of Proconsular Asia. The accusers of St. Paul might fairly demand a longer suspension; for they accused him of offences committed not only in Palestine (which

his right hand chained to the left hand of the soldier who guarded him. He was permitted, however, to reside in his own hired lodging, and to hold free converse with friends and visitors.

It was during this period that the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, and the *Ephesians* were composed. Each of these epistles bears tokens of having been written during the author's imprisonment.¹ It is further evident that this imprisonment was occasioned by his preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles.² Some think that the imprisonment in question was that which

was far more remote than Proconsular Asia from Rome) but also over the whole Empire."—Conybeare and Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, chap. xxv.

¹ Phil. i. 7, 13, 14, 17: "I have you in my heart, inasmuch as, both in my bonds and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers with me of grace. . . . So that my bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole pretorian guard, and to all the rest; and that most of the brethren in the Lord, being confident through my bonds, are more abundantly bold to speak the word of God without fear. . . . But the other proclaim Christ of faction, not sincerely, thinking to raise up affliction for me in my bonds." Col. iv. 3, 18: "Withal praying for us also, that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds; . . . The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you." Philemon 9, 10, 13: "Yet for love's sake I rather beseech, being such a one as Paul the aged, and now a prisoner also of Christ Jesus: I beseech thee for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds, . . . whom I would fain have kept with me, that in thy behalf he might minister unto me in the bonds of the gospel." Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1: "For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus in behalf of you Gentiles. . . . I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye were called." Cf. Acts xxviii. 16-20: "And when we entered into Rome, Paul was suffered to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him. And it came to pass,

that after three days he called together those that were the chief of the Jews: and when they were come together, he said unto them, I, brethren, though I had done nothing against the people, or the customs of our fathers, yet was delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans: who, when they had examined me, desired to set me at liberty, because there was no cause of death in me. But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar; not that I had aught to accuse my nation of. For this cause therefore did I intreat you to see and to speak with me: for because of the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain."

² Col. i. 24-27: "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church; whereof I was made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which was given me to you-ward, to fulfil the word of God, even the mystery which hath been hid from all ages and generations: but now hath it been manifested to his saints, to whom God was pleased to make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory." Eph. vi. 19, 20: "And on my behalf, that utterance may be given unto me in opening my mouth, to make known with boldness the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in chains; that in it I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak." Cf. Acts xxii. 21, 22: "And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles. And they (*i.e.* the crowd in Jerusalem) gave him

the apostle underwent at Cæsarea.¹ But in several respects the circumstances referred to in the epistles harmonise better with his stay in Rome. (a) The impression made by his bonds which "became manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorian guard, and to all the rest,"² and the mention of "Cæsar's household,"³ point to the *imperial* city as the scene of his influence. (b) The apostle's purpose of visiting Macedonia after his release would not answer to his state of mind while he was looking forward to a visit to Rome.⁴ (c) The expression used in the Book of Acts to describe Paul's confinement, namely "this chain," is almost identical with the language of the epistle to the Ephesians on the same subject⁵; while the same cannot be said of the apostle's allusion to his condition at Cæsarea when he replied to Agrippa, "I would to God, that whether with little or with much, not thou only, but also all that hear me this day, might become such as I am, except *these bonds*."⁶

audience unto this word; and they lifted up their voice, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live." Acts xxvi. 19-21: "Wherefore, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but declared both to them of Damascus first, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the country of Judæa, and also to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance. For this cause the Jews seized me in the temple, and assayed to kill me." See also note 1.

¹ This is the view taken by Meyer and Reuss—contrary to the ancient and prevailing opinion of the Church.

² The result of so many soldiers in their turn coming into close contact with the apostle during his military custody. Phil. i. 12, 13: "Now I would have you know, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the progress of the gospel; so that my bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorian guard, and to all the rest." Col. i. 6: "the gospel which is come unto you; even as it is also in all the world bearing fruit and increasing, as it doth in you also." "The camp and the court were always centres of Christianising influence."—Mommson.

³ Phil. iv. 22: "All the saints salute you, especially they that are of Cæsar's household." Cæsar's household ("domus" or "familia Cæsaris") formed an immense establishment, including thousands of slaves and freedmen employed in all kinds of official and domestic duties (as we learn from recently discovered monuments in Rome), such as those of tutor, accountant, secretary, land-steward, librarian, money-changer, architect, surgeon, oculist, and other offices of a more menial character. A "chief of the tasters" (procurator prægustatorum) is mentioned, implying that these were numerous enough to form a separate class. In such a household, Greeks and Orientals would prevail, even more than in the city at large.

⁴ Phil. ii. 19, 24: "But I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. . . . But I trust in the Lord that I myself also shall come shortly."

⁵ Acts xxviii. 20: "Because of the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain" (τὴν ἀλυσιν ταύτην περικείμεαι).

Eph. vi. 20: "for which I am an ambassador in chains" (or "in a chain," R.V. margin, ἐν ἀλύσει).

⁶ Acts xxvi. 29: τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων.

(d) Both Colossians and Philippians are written in the name of Paul and Timothy, but we find no trace of the latter in connection with Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea. (e) The great metropolis of the world was a much more likely refuge than Cæsarea for a runaway slave like Onesimus.

With regard to the order in which these four epistles were written, many critics have been disposed to assign Philippians to a later date than the three others. But none of their arguments when examined appear to have much weight. Philemon—which can be shown to be contemporaneous with Colossians (see p. 168)—affords as probable an indication of having been written when the imprisonment was drawing to a close as anything to be found in Philippians.¹ We cannot infer much from such expressions, as the apostle's prospects may have undergone various vicissitudes during his imprisonment; nor yet from the absence of salutations on the part of Luke and Aristarchus in Philippians as contrasted with Colossians and Philemon; for there are several ways of accounting for this.² We are on safer ground when we base our judgment on the general character of the several epistles. When we do so we are led to the conclusion that this epistle marks the *transition* from Romans to Colossians and Ephesians. While the former of these resembles it in many points both verbal and doctrinal,³

¹ Philemon ver. 22: "But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you."

² E.g. Luke may have been temporarily absent from Rome when Paul wrote to the Philippians, and Aristarchus may not yet have arrived. It will scarcely do, however, to say (with Lightfoot) that the salutations are also absent from Ephesians, if that epistle is regarded as an encyclical, for the absence of all such personal messages is then to be regarded as one of its peculiar features. (See p. 181.)

³ Cf. Phil. i. 3-8: "I thank my God upon all my remembrance of you, always in every supplication of mine on

behalf of you all making my supplication with joy, for your fellowship in furtherance of the gospel from the first day until now; being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ: even as it is right for me to be thus minded on behalf of you all, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as, both in my bonds and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers with me of grace. For God is my witness, how I long after you all in the tender mercies of Christ Jesus"; Rom. i. 8-12: "First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world. For God

we discern in the two latter a new phase of doctrine of which scarcely any trace can be found in the Epistle to the Philippians. No doubt this peculiarity of Colossians and Ephesians was partly due to their being addressed to the theosophic Christians of Asia Minor instead of to Churches in Europe; but if Philippians had been written subsequently to them, it could scarcely have failed to bear very distinct traces of the speculative questions which had so recently engaged the apostle's attention.

While Philippians therefore was probably anterior in date to the three others, the effects which the apostle's "bonds" are stated to have already produced in Rome,¹ as well as the account of Epaphroditus' mission from Philippi to Rome, with its attendant circumstances,² imply that some considerable time had elapsed since the apostle's arrival. We may therefore assign this epistle to the early part of 62 A.D., and the three others to the close of the same year or the beginning of 63 A.D.³

is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel of his Son, how unceasingly I make mention of you, always in my prayers making request, if by any means now at length I may be prospered by the will of God to come unto you. For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established." Phil. i. 10: "approve the things that are excellent"; Rom. ii. 18: "approve the things that are excellent. Phil. iii. 5: "of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews"; Rom. xi. 1: "For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. Phil. iii. 9: "and be found in him, not having a righteousness of mine own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith"; Rom. x. 3, 4: "For being ignorant of God's righteousness, and seeking to establish their own, they did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth. Phil. iii. 10, 11: "that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, be-

coming conformed unto his death; if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead"; Rom. vi. 4, 5, ff.: "We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with him by the likeness of his death, we shall be also by the likeness of his resurrection," &c.

¹ Phil. i. 12-14: "Now I would have you know, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the progress of the gospel; so that my bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorian guard, and to all the rest; and that most of the brethren in the Lord, being confident through my bonds, are more abundantly bold to speak the word of God without fear."

² Phil. ii. 25-30; iv. 18.

³ It is possible the apostle may have written other letters during his imprisonment. His anxiety about his own prospects did not prevent him from engaging in active labour among the soldiers and others brought into contact with him, or from superintending by means

"THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE
PHILIPPIANS."

1. *Authorship.*

The Pauline authorship of this epistle is generally admitted.¹ It is a characteristic outpouring of the apostle's tender, affectionate, and devout heart; the circumstances which gave rise to it come out in the course of the epistle in a casual and unaffected manner; and corroboration of them is found in the Book of Acts and elsewhere. It is difficult to imagine what purpose a forger could have had, or how he could ever have achieved success, in fabricating a letter of such a distinctly personal character.

With regard to external evidence, traces of expressions used in the epistle may be found in many of the earliest Christian writers (outside of the New Testament) whose works have come down to us.² By the close of the second century its general acceptance in the Church is beyond the possibility of doubt. One writer (Tertullian, about 200 A.D.) states that it had all along been read and acknowledged by the Church of Philippi.

2. *The Readers.*

"To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."³ Philippi was the first place at which St. Paul preached the Gospel in Europe—

of his colleagues and envoys the various Churches which looked to him for guidance. In this connection the following names occur in the epistles:—Luke, Timothy, John Mark, Demas, Jesus Justus, Epaphroditus (of Philippi), Tychicus (of Ephesus), Epaphras (of Colossæ), and Aristarchus (of Thessalonica).

¹ It was rejected by Baur on very slender grounds; and his opinion has not been adopted by Hilgenfeld, the chief living representative of the "Tübingen" school.

² Clement of Rome (apparently), Ignatius, Polycarp (who, writing to the Philippians, refers to the epistle which Paul had addressed to them), Justin Martyr; and the authors of the Letter to Diognetus, and of the Epistle sent by the Churches of Vienne and Lyons. It is also found in the Muratorian Canon and the Syriac and Old Latin Versions of the second century, and was acknowledged by Marcion.

³ i. i.

in the course of his second missionary journey, 52 A.D. A very full and graphic account of this visit is given by St. Luke, who along with Timothy and Silas accompanied the apostle on the occasion.¹ The city lay a few miles inland from the coast of Macedonia, at the confluence of Asiatic and European life on the great Egnatian highway, where there was a pass in the mountain barrier stretching north and south. Founded on an ancient site by Philip, king of Macedonia (who named it after himself) in the middle of the fourth century B.C., the city was raised to the dignity of a Roman colony by Augustus (42 A.D.) in commemoration of his great victory over Brutus and Cassius gained in the immediate vicinity. As a colony it became politically "*a miniature likeness of Rome*"; and the high sense of Roman citizenship which pervaded the community may be seen at several points in Luke's narrative² as well as in allusions in the epistle.³ There were comparatively few Jews in the place, as we may infer from the want of any regular synagogue⁴ and the absence of any Hebrew name in the list of converts; and to this fact the constant loyalty of the Philippians to the person and teaching of the apostle was probably in some measure due. Only three members of the Church are specially mentioned in the account of Paul's visit. These are a *proselyte of Asia*, a *Greek*, and a *Roman*⁵—representing the catholic nature of the Church

¹ Acts xvi. 11-40.

² Acts xvi. 20, 21, 35-38: "And when they had brought them unto the magistrates, they said, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and set forth customs which it is not lawful for us to receive, or to observe, being Romans. . . . But when it was day, the magistrates sent the sergeants, saying, Let those men go. And the jailor reported the words to Paul, saying, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore come forth, and go in peace. But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison; and do they now cast us out privily? nay verily; but let them come themselves and bring us out. And the sergeants reported these words unto

the magistrates: and they feared, when they heard that they were Romans."

³ i. 27: "Behave as citizens worthy of the gospel of Christ" (R.V. margin); iii. 20: "For our citizenship is in heaven."

⁴ Acts xvi. 13: "And on the sabbath day we went forth without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer."

⁵ (1) "Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, one that worshipped God"; (2) "a certain maid having a spirit of divination"; and (3) "the jailor." The order of their conversion, as Lightfoot remarks, is significant of the historical progress of Christianity: first the proselyte, next the Greek, then the Roman.

which Paul had come to establish,—representing, too, the liberal and liberating spirit of the Gospel, two of them being *women*, and one of the two a *slave*, the absolute property of her master. The consecrating influence of the Gospel on *family relations* is brought out here for the first time in the history of the Church,—Lydia's "household" being baptized with her, and the jailor rejoicing greatly "with all his house."¹ The prominence assigned to women both here and in the neighbouring Churches of Thessalonica and Berea² is in harmony with what we know from other sources to have been characteristic of Macedonian society.³

Paul's visit to Philippi was memorable not only for the converts whom he made but also for the sufferings he endured and the signal deliverance that was granted to him.⁴ The Church which he then formed *excelled all others* in its devoted attachment to his person and its repeated acts of

¹ xvi. 15, 34.

² Acts xvi. 13: "And on the sabbath day we went forth without the gate (*i.e.* at Philippi) by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which were come together." Acts xvii. 4, 12: "And some of them were persuaded, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few (*i.e.* at Thessalonica). . . . Many of them therefore believed; also of the Greek women of honourable estate, and of men, not a few" (*i.e.* at Berea). Cf. iv. 2, 3: "I exhort Euodia, and I exhort Syntyche, to be of the same mind in the Lord. Yea, I beseech thee also, true yoke-fellow, help these women, for they laboured with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and the rest of my fellow-workers, whose names are in the book of life."

³ "The extant Macedonian inscriptions seem to assign to the sex a higher social influence than is common among the civilized nations of antiquity. In not a few instances a metronymic takes the place of the usual patronymic; and, in other cases, a prominence is given to women which can hardly be accidental. For instance, one inscription records how

a wife erects a tomb 'for herself and her dear husband, out of their common earnings'; another, how a husband erects a tomb 'for his devoted and darling wife, and himself,' also from their common savings. There are also cases of monuments erected in honour of women by public bodies. Again the deferential language used by the husband speaking of the wife, is worthy of notice (*e.g.* 'Eutyche, in memory of Stratonica, his life-partner and lady.')."—Lightfoot on *Philippians*, p. 55.

⁴ Acts xvi. 22-26: "And the multitude rose up together against them: and the magistrates rent their garments off them, and commanded to beat them with rods. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely: who, having received such a charge, cast them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks. But about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns unto God, and the prisoners were listening to them; and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison-house were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened; and every one's bands were loosed."

generosity to him.¹ This generosity he accepted, contrary to his ordinary rule, because of his perfect confidence in the sincerity and affection of the donors.

We hear of two subsequent visits which the apostle paid to Philippi—in 57 and 58 A.D.² His experience on these occasions, as well as in other communications which he held with them, had done much to cheer his heart. In their contributions for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem they appear to have shown, in common with the other Macedonians, remarkable liberality and self-denial.³

2. *Date and Place of Composition.*

At Rome, 61-62 A.D. (see pp. 151-5).

3. *Character and Contents.*

Of all St. Paul's epistles this is the most benign, breathing a spirit of the warmest *sympathy and approval*. He addresses the Philippians as "my brethren beloved and longed for, my joy and crown."⁴ In this respect it sur-

¹ iv. 15, 16: "And ye yourselves also know, ye Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church had fellowship with me in the matter of giving and receiving, but ye only; for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my need." 2 Cor. xi. 9: "And when I was present with you and was in want, I was not a burden on any man; for the brethren, when they came from Macedonia, supplied the measure of my want; and in every thing I kept myself from being burdensome unto you, and so will I keep myself."

² Acts xx. 1-6: "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And when he had spent three months there, and a plot was laid against him by the Jews, as he was about to set sail for Syria, he determined to return through Macedonia. And there accom-

panied him as far as Asia Sopater of Berea, the son of Pyrrhus; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. But these had gone before, and were waiting for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we tarried seven days."

³ 2 Cor. viii. 1-4: "Moreover, brethren, we make known to you the grace of God which hath been given in the churches of Macedonia; how that in much proof of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For according to their power, I bear witness, yea and beyond their power, they gave of their own accord, beseeching us with much entreaty in regard of this grace and the fellowship in the ministering to the saints."

⁴ iv. 1.

passes even 1 Thessalonians, which it resembles not a little in its gentle and confiding tone.

Without any assertion of apostolic authority, it begins with a very full *thanksgiving* for the tokens of grace which the Philippians had so generally manifested since the Gospel was preached among them. These tokens led the apostle to cherish a confident persuasion that they would advance more and more in the Christian life and realise a fulfilment of his constant prayer on their behalf.¹

He then adverts to his own circumstances, and refers to the salutary influence of *his bonds* in witnessing for Christ among the imperial guard and in the city generally, while his friends were stimulated by his example, and even his enemies the Judaisers were provoked to greater activity on his account. The mutilated Gospel taught by these latter he regards as better than none for those who knew not Christ; and instead of troubling himself about their opposition to him, he will rather take comfort from their labour, feeling assured that all his trials will work together for good. He is prepared either for *life* or for *death* as the will of the Lord may be, although he has a strong impression that he will be delivered and permitted to visit Philippi once more.² In any case, he would appeal to them to be *firm and united* in defence of Christ's cause—counting it a token of salvation that they are permitted “not only to believe on him, but also to suffer in his behalf.”³ He would counsel them to avoid all rivalry and self-seeking, and to cultivate that humility which was so signally displayed by the Lord Jesus Christ and was attended in His case with such glorious results.⁴ He exhorts them to work out their salvation with fear and trembling as in God's presence and with God's help, striving to walk worthy of their calling and to justify the apostle's boast concerning them. They might rest assured that he was as devoted to their interests as ever, and was ready, if need be, to give up his life on their behalf.⁵ He hoped soon to send to them

1 i. 1-11.

2 i. 12-26.

3 i. 27-30.

4 ii. 1-11.

5 ii. 12-18.

their mutual and trusty friend Timothy with news of his prospects, and in return he hopes to hear of their state before he visits them in person. Meanwhile he is sending to them Epaphroditus, the messenger of their bounty, who has been of invaluable service to him since his arrival, but whose recent illness and anxiety on their account render it expedient that he should return to Philippi.¹

At this point² it would seem as if the apostle had intended to draw to a close—probably by a renewal of his counsels to unity and brotherly love. But from some cause—perhaps owing to his being interrupted by fresh news of the Judaisers—he launches into a new subject, warning his converts against the infatuation of those who would put their confidence in *Jewish rights or privileges*, and avowing his own renunciation of all such claims, in view of the new life which comes from fellowship with the risen and exalted Christ.³ That life cannot be realised without *strenuous and persevering effort* in the path of duty. He would therefore caution them against the gross abuse of the doctrines of grace which some are guilty of, and he bids them take his own life as an example of the Christian course.⁴ In the last chapter he returns to the subject of *the dissensions* among them, and refers to two women of influence in the Church whom he is anxious to see restored to terms of friendship. For this purpose he invokes the aid of Epaphroditus (“true yoke-fellow”) and other leading members of the Church.⁵ He adds *several exhortations* of a general nature that are among the most beautiful precepts in the New Testament.⁶ In conclusion,

¹ ii. 19-30.

² iii. 1: “Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord. To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not irksome, but for you it is safe.”

³ iii. 2-11.

⁴ iii. 12-21.

⁵ iv. 1-3.

⁶ iv. 4-9: “Rejoice in the Lord alway: again I will say, Rejoice. Let your forbearance be known unto all

men. The Lord is at hand. In nothing be anxious; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall guard your hearts and your thoughts in Christ Jesus. Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, what-

before sending the final salutations, he thanks the Philippians warmly for the renewal of their bounty towards him, which he welcomes not so much on his own account as for the evidence it affords of their devotion to the Gospel. For their kindness to him God will yet reward them with the higher treasures that are hid in Christ Jesus.¹

It is worthy of note that the "bishops and deacons" specially addressed in the opening of the epistle,² represent the only two classes of local Church office-bearers that are mentioned in the New Testament. The former (bishops or *overseers*, R.V. margin) are identical with the "elders" or presbyters elsewhere mentioned,³ to whom were entrusted the *governing and teaching* functions in the

soever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. The things which ye both learned and received and heard and saw in me, these things do; and the God of peace shall be with you." Cf. ver. 4 with iii. 1, &c. *Summa epistolae, gaudeo, gaudete* (Bengel). "Amid poverty and imprisonment, with the frown of the tyrant bent on him, death seeming to stare him in the face, the fundamental note in the many-toned music of his letter is the note of joy. He recalls to our minds the runner who, at the supreme moment of Grecian history, brought to Athens the news of Marathon. Worn, panting, exhausted with the effort to be the herald of deliverance, he sank in death on the threshold of the first house which he reached with the tidings of victory, and sighed forth his gallant soul in one great sob, almost in the very same words as those used by the apostle, χαίρετε, χαίρομεν, 'Rejoice ye, we too rejoice.'" (Farrar's *Messengers of the Books*, p. 305, where a contrast is drawn between the "serene cheerfulness" of the apostle in his imprisonment, and the dejection of such men as Cicero, Seneca, Dante, Clarendon, Atterbury, Bolingbroke, under like trying circumstances.)

¹ iv. 10-23. Early in the second century the Philippians had the privilege of receiving a letter from Polycarp, which is still extant (see Appendix, p. 280).

But, beyond that, scarcely anything is known of their subsequent history. "Of the church which stood foremost among all the apostolic communities in faith and love, it may literally be said that not one stone stands upon another. Its whole career is a signal monument of the inscrutable counsels of God. Born into the world with the brightest promise, the church of Philippi has lived without a history and perished without a memorial. . . . The city itself has long been a wilderness" (Lightfoot).

² i. 1. "Bishops and deacons" are likewise mentioned in the First Epistle of Clement (xliv.); and in the *Teaching of the Apostles* (xv.), where they are described as "your honourable men along with the prophets and teachers."

³ We cannot suppose that the apostle is here ignoring the elders or presbyters, when he salutes "the bishops and deacons," only. Apart from this, however, the identity of the offices is perfectly evident from a comparison of the following passages, where the two words are used interchangeably:—Acts xx. 17 and 28; Titus i. 5 and 7 (cf. i Tim. iii. 1 and 8, with v. 17); 1 Pet. v. 1 and 2. A similar identification is apparent in the language of Clement of Rome (§§ 42, 44). The name ἐπίσκοπος (bishop = overseer), which in the New Testament is applied to officers of *Gentile* Churches only, is borrowed from the life of the Greeks, and represents the office on its *practical* side, as implying a work of *superintend-*

Church, while the deacons appear to have been specially charged with *the care of the poor*.¹ The three Episcopal orders of bishop, priest, and deacon cannot be distinctly traced before the beginning of the second century.²

ence; πρεσβύτερος (presbyter = elder) is the Greek form of a name that is of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament (יִזְרָאֵל), and is expressive rather of *age* and *official authority*. It is frequently applied in the New Testament to the members of the Jewish Sanhedrim; but as a title of office in the Christian Church it was borrowed from the Jewish synagogue, whose presiding officers were called by this name. In the Christian sense the first occurrence of the word is in Acts xi. 30: "And the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judæa: which also they did, sending it to the *elders* by the hand of Barnabas and Saul."

¹ There can be little doubt that the uniform tradition of the ancient Church is right when it represents the diaconate as having its origin in the appointment of the "seven men of good report," who

were set over the administration of charity in the Church at Jerusalem (Acts vi.). Though they are not called deacons, the corresponding terms, διακονεῖν and διακονία, are applied to their duties (vers. 1, 2).

² The office of bishop in this sense appears in a rudimentary form in the Book of Acts, in the pre-eminence of James the Lord's brother in the Church at Jerusalem; and we have also approaches to it in the commission of Timothy to the Church at Ephesus, and of Titus to that of Crete. But the general development of the office only took place towards the close of the first century (with the approval, it may have been, of the apostle John), to conserve the outward unity of the Church. (See on Ignatian Epistles, Appendix, p. 279.) The subject is fully discussed in Bishop Lightfoot's dissertation on "The Christian Ministry," in his commentary on *Philippians*.

CHAPTER XV.

COLOSSIANS—PHILEMON.

“THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.”

1. *Authorship.*

THE Pauline authorship of this epistle, as well as of that to the Ephesians (which it closely resembles), has of recent years been called in question, not for any want of external evidence, but because of its *peculiar phraseology* as compared with the earlier epistles of Paul.¹ The objection, however, is one of little force. It is no uncommon thing for a writer's vocabulary to undergo a considerable change in the course of a very short period, when he is placed amid new surroundings and under the influence of new associations.² Anything strange about the apostle's language in this epistle is sufficiently explained by the circumstances under which he wrote, and was evidently occasioned by the *new errors* which he was called to encounter.

It is alleged, however, that we have in this epistle not only novelty in language but also in *doctrine*, especially with regard to the nature and office of Christ. But the truth is we have in the Christology of this epistle only the full *development* of ideas which had germinated in the apostle's mind years before,³ and are to be found in other

¹ Expressions are borrowed from it by Justin Martyr and Basilides, and, apparently, by still earlier writers; it is clearly recognised as Paul's by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian; it was acknowledged by Marcion, a native of Asia Minor, and it is found in the Muratorian Canon and the Syriac and Old Latin Versions.

² A close examination of the works of

Xenophon, for example, has brought to light a remarkable variation of language in the books he wrote after he began to move about from place to place like St. Paul. See Salmon's Introduction (4th edition) p. 419. Note *.

³ 1 Thess. i. 1: “Paul, and Silvanus, and Timothy, unto the church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace to you

books of the New Testament.¹ In the notable passage in Philippians regarding the original glory and the ultimate exaltation of the Saviour, as lofty a claim is made on His behalf to the reverence and adoration of the Church as is anywhere to be found in this epistle.²

It is worthy of note, too, that this epistle has a special mark of genuineness in the singular connection which subsists between it and the Epistle to Philemon.³ This

and peace." 1 Cor. viii. 6: "Yet to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him." 1 Cor. xi. 3: "But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God." 2 Cor. iv. 4: "In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving, that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not dawn upon them."

¹ 1 John i. 3: "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." Heb. i. 1-3: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds; who being the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."

² Phil. ii. 5-11: "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the

earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

³ iv. 7-18: "All my affairs shall Tychicus make known unto you, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our estate, and that he may comfort your hearts; together with Onesimus, the faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things that are done here. Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you, and Mark, the cousin of Barnabas (touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him), and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision: these only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, men that have been a comfort unto me. Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ Jesus, saluteth you, always striving for you in his prayers, that ye may stand perfect and fully assured in all the will of God. For I bear him witness, that he hath much labour for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for them in Hierapolis. Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas salute you. Salute the brethren that are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church that is in their house. And when this epistle hath been read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea. And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it. The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you." Philemon, vers. 2, 10-12, 23, 24: "And to Apphia our sister, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house: . . . I beseech thee for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds, Onesimus, who was aforetime

connection is such, that if the letter to Philemon be genuine (as generally admitted), Colossians must likewise be so. Otherwise it must be a forgery founded on *Philemon*,—which is very unlikely for the following reasons: (1) In the Epistle to Philemon there is no mention whatever of Colossæ, or of any place in its neighbourhood, nor yet of the messenger Tychicus; (2) there are variations in the salutations sent in the two epistles, such as we can scarcely imagine to have been resorted to in the interests of forgery; and (3) in Colossians there is no reference whatever to Philemon himself or to the peculiar circumstances of Onesimus as a runaway slave.

2. *The Readers.*

"To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colossæ."¹ The Church at Colossæ seems to have been the least important of the Churches to which Paul is known to have written. The city itself had at one time been populous and important, but its prosperity was very much reduced before the days of the apostle.² It lay on the river Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander in the Phrygian part of Asia Minor, not many miles distant from its more prosperous neighbours, Laodicea and Hierapolis,³ in "a sombre and melancholy region" covered with the traces

unprofitable to thee, but now is profitable to thee and to me: whom I have sent back to thee in his own person, that is, my very heart: . . . Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus, saluteth thee; and so do Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow-workers."

¹ i. 2.

² Its prosperity, like that of other towns in its vicinity, was chiefly derived from the trade in dyed woollen goods—depending on the rich pasture for flocks afforded by the fertile land, and the valuable properties of the mineral streams, which the inhabitants knew how to turn to account for dyeing purposes. Its former greatness is attested by Herodotus, who describes it as "a great city of Phrygia" at which Xerxes halted with his immense army on his way to Greece; and Xenophon, recording how it was

similarly honoured by Cyrus, speaks of it as "a populous city, prosperous and great."

³ iv. 13 (quoted p. 167, end of note 3). "The Christian communities of this district play a conspicuous part in the struggles and the development of the Church. When after the destruction of Jerusalem St. John fixed his abode at Ephesus, it would appear that not a few of the oldest surviving members of the Palestinian Church accompanied him into 'Asia,' which henceforward became the headquarters of Apostolic authority. In this body of emigrants, Andrew and Philip among the Twelve, Aristion and John the presbyter among other personal disciples of the Lord, are especially mentioned."—Lightfoot on *Colossians*, p. 45.

of volcanic action.¹ In common with these cities, Colossæ had doubtless been indebted for its knowledge of Christianity to the evangelistic labours of Paul at Ephesus, the metropolis of the district, from which his influence had spread far and wide, "almost throughout all Asia."² Although we may infer from his language in the epistle that Paul had not personally laboured among the Colossians, it would seem that their chief evangelist, Epaphras, had been one of his disciples.³

This Epaphras had paid a visit to Rome during Paul's imprisonment there. Whether he had come for the express purpose of consulting the apostle regarding the state of the Colossians is not clear; but at all events he made Paul acquainted with the dangers that were besetting the Church notwithstanding many tokens of grace.⁴

¹ "Though the exterior surface of the earth shows no traces of recent volcanoes, still the cavernous nature of the soil and the hot springs and mephitic vapours abounding here indicate the presence of those subterranean fires which from time to time have manifested themselves in this work of destruction. . . . If fire has its fitful outbursts of devastation, water is only less powerful in its gradual work of reconstruction. The lateral streams which swell the waters of the Lycus are thickly impregnated with calcareous matter, which they deposit in their course. . . . Ancient monuments are buried, fertile lands overlaid, river-beds choked up and streams diverted, fantastic grottoes and cascades and archways of stone formed by this strange capricious power, at once destructive and creative, working silently and relentlessly through long ages. Fatal to vegetation, these incrustations spread like a stony shroud over the ground. Gleaming like glaciers on the hill-side, they attract the eye of the traveller at a distance of twenty miles, and form a singularly striking feature in scenery of more than common beauty and impressiveness."—*Lightfoot*.

² Acts xix. 10, 26: "And this continued for the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. . . . And ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout

all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands," 1 Cor. xvi. 19: "The churches of Asia salute you."

³ ii. 1: "For I would have you know how greatly I strive for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." i. 3-9: "We give thanks to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, having heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have toward all the saints, because of the hope which is laid up for you in the heavens, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel, which is come unto you; even as it is also in all the world bearing fruit and increasing, as it doth in you also, since the day ye heard and knew the grace of God in truth; even as ye learned of Epaphras our beloved fellow-servant, who is a faithful minister of Christ on our behalf, who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit. For this cause we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray and make request for you, that ye may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding." Like Epaphras, Philemon ("our beloved and fellow-worker," p. 173) was no doubt another of his active missionary converts; so, apparently, was Nymphas of Laodicea (iv. 15, quoted p. 165, note 3).

⁴ i. 3-8 (quoted above); ii. 8-10: "Take

The interest in Colossæ which was thus awakened in the mind of the apostle by his conversation with Epaphras was further stimulated by his intercourse with Onesimus, a runaway slave from the same city, who was in some way or other brought under his influence at Rome, and proved an invaluable friend.¹ He could not permanently retain Onesimus in his service, as he was the lawful property of another; so he took the opportunity afforded by the mission of Tychicus (a trusty delegate) to Asia to send Onesimus along with him, giving the latter a conciliatory letter to his master Philemon, and at the same time he addresses a longer communication to the members of the Colossian Church, with special reference to the evils to which they were exposed.² This he intrusts to the care of Tychicus, by whom he also despatches another epistle intended for a still wider circle of readers.³

heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ: for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the God-head bodily, and in him ye are made full, who is the head of all principality and power. . . . 16-23: Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day: which are a shadow of the things to come; but the body is Christ's. Let no man rob you of your prize by a voluntary humility and worshipping of the angels, dwelling in the things which he hath seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding fast the Head, from whom all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God. If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances, I handle not, nor taste, nor touch (all which things are to perish with the using), after the precepts and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and severity to the body; but are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh." iv. 12, 13:

"Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ Jesus, saluteth you, always striving for you in his prayers, that ye may stand perfect and fully assured in all the will of God. For I bear him witness, that he hath much labour for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for them in Hierapolis."

¹ iv. 9: "Onesimus, the faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you." Cf. Philemon.

² iv. 7-9: "All my affairs shall Tychicus make known unto you, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our estate, and that he may comfort your hearts; together with Onesimus, the faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things that are done here." Acts xx. 4: "And there accompanied him as far as Asia Sopater of Berea, the son of Pyrrhus; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus." Cf. 2 Tim. v. 12: "But Tychicus I sent to Ephesus." Titus iii. 12: "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus." Cf. pp. 174-5.

³ Eph. vi. 21, 22: "But that ye also

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

At Rome, 62-63 A.D. (pp. 151-5).

4. *Character and Contents.*

It has been remarked that this epistle lacks the vivacity and fluency which characterise the apostle's style when he is addressing readers personally known to him.

To the ordinary reader it is probably the most difficult of Paul's epistles, owing to the fact that it was designed to be a corrective of certain errors of a recondite nature with which we have little or nothing to do at the present day. For these errors the Jewish element of the population, which prevailed so largely in that part of the world, was largely responsible.¹ It was not the Pharisees, however, whose endeavours, at an earlier period, to foist the ceremonial law of the Jews on the Christian Church had been so strenuously and successfully resisted by the apostle of the Gentiles, but the *Essenes*, another sect of the Jews, that were now the corrupters of the faith. Their pretensions were of a more abstruse and philosophic character, savouring of combined mysticism and asceticism; and along with their teaching was mingled the theosophy of Asia Minor,

may know my affairs, how I do, Tychicus, the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts."

¹ Two thousand Jewish families were brought by Antiochus the Great from Babylonia and Macedonia, and settled in Lydia and Phrygia. We have evidence of their numbers and wealth at a later period in the large quantity of gold that was confiscated by the Roman governor on its way to Jerusalem in payment of the poll-tax. We also find Phrygia mentioned (Acts ii. 10) as one of the countries from which devout men were present at Jerusalem on the great day of Pentecost. Their influence in the Colos-

sian Church may be traced in ii. 11: "in whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ"; ii. 14: "having blotted out the bond written in ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us: and he hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross"; ii. 16: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day." The worship of angels (p. 170, note 2) was also the perversion of a Jewish doctrine; Acts vii. 53: "Ye who received the law as it was ordained by angels, and kept it not." Gal. iii. 19: The law "was ordained through angels by the hands of a mediator."

resulting in the strange form of heresy which we find the apostle combating in this epistle.

The heresy was partly speculative, partly practical, but at the root of the whole there lay an abhorrence of matter as the abode of evil, and a consequent depreciation of everything connected with man's physical existence. This led, on its *speculative* side, to an elaborate system of mediation between the Supreme Being and the world of matter, by means of a spiritual hierarchy consisting of a graduated series of emanations from the deity, the lowest of which was supposed to have been far enough removed from the Supreme Being to be capable of bringing into existence the base material world. In opposition to this theory the apostle insists upon the *absolute and universal mediatorship of Christ*—in the outward universe created through Him as well as in the Church of which He is the Head,¹ and warns his converts against being led astray by a false philosophy, associated with the worship of angels, which some of their teachers were trying to introduce into the Church.²

¹ i. 15-20: "Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him, and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in him should all the fulness dwell; and through him to reconcile all things unto himself, having made peace through the blood of his cross; through him, I say, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens." ii. 14, 15: "Having blotted out the bond written in ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us: and he hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross; having put off from himself the principalities and the powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it." Cf. Rom. viii. 38, 39: "For I am persuaded, that neither

death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

² ii. 8: "Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." ii. 18, 19: "Let no man rob you of your prize by a voluntary humility and worshipping of the angels, dwelling in the things which he hath seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding fast the Head, from whom all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God." In this connection it is interesting to find that angel-worship was condemned at a council held at the neighbouring city of Laodicea in the fourth century, and that there is a Greek story to the effect that the archangel Michael once saved Colossæ from destruction by opening a chasm for the escape of waters with which it was inundated. The worship of angels,

On its *practical* side the error took the form of a rigorous asceticism, intended to free man's spirit from the degrading influence of the world and the flesh.¹ To counteract this tendency, the apostle proclaims the inspiring and life-giving power of fellowship with *Jesus Christ*, by whose death upon the cross reconciliation has been effected between heaven and earth, and in whom "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."² The spirit of Christ ought to raise Christians above the mere elements or "rudiments" of the world,³ imparting to them new motives and a higher consciousness; and the apostle calls upon his readers to consecrate to God, in fellowship with the risen Saviour, all departments of their life, whether as individual Christians or in their mutual relations as husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants.⁴

While the speculative and practical aspects of the subject are not kept entirely distinct, the former is chiefly dealt with in the first chapter, after the opening salutation, thanksgiving, and prayer; while the second chapter is more polemical in tone, and forms an introduction to the practical exhortations which occupy the third and part of the fourth or last chapter. The remainder of the epistle is

especially of Michael, was common in Asia Minor. (See Prof. Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, Chap. xix.) In the epistle "to the angel of the church in Laodicea," in the Book of Revelation, we can trace features of resemblance to this epistle both on its speculative and its practical side. Cf. Col. i. 15-20 and Rev. iii. 14: "These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God"; Col. iii. 1-4 and Rev. iii. 21: "He that overcometh, I will give to him to sit down with me in my throne, as I also overcame, and sat down with my Father in his throne."

¹ ii. 16-23 (quoted in note 4, p. 167).

² The words here translated "the fulness" (τὸ πλήρωμα) which also occurs at i. 19, and three times in the cognate epistle to the Ephesians (i. 23; iii. 19; iv. 13), became a favourite word with the Gnostics of the second century to denote the totality of the divine attributes manifested more or less in the various emanations of the Deity.

Other Gnostic terms are found in i. 16, "whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers" (εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι), cf. Eph. i. 21. These and such-like traces of Gnosticism have led Baur, and after him Hilgenfeld, to pronounce this epistle the work of a later age. But although we cannot make out the exact features of Gnosticism till the second century, we have ample evidence in the writings of Philo (a contemporary of St. Paul) as well as in some of the Old Testament Apocryphal books, that the tendencies of thought which afterwards resulted in Gnosticism as a full-blown theological system were in active operation even before the time of the apostles. They were characteristic of an age of mingled scepticism and superstition, of wide eclecticism and bold amalgamation.

³ ii. 8, 20 (quoted p. 168).

⁴ iii. 1-iv. 6.

made up of salutations and personal explanations and directions.¹

In several passages a reference may be traced to the *intellectual pride and exclusiveness* which were associated with the errors of the Colossian Church. Among its Jewish members, the pride of intellect was taking the place of the old pride of nationality. In opposition to this tendency the apostle declares that "*in Christ*"—not in any philosophy which man could devise—"are *all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden*."² He prays that they "may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding."³ He represents the Gospel as a "mystery" that has been "manifested" to the whole Church—his duty as an apostle being to proclaim Christ, "admonishing *every* man, and teaching *every* man in *all* wisdom; that (he) may present *every man perfect in Christ*."⁴ He thus declares the Church to be a spiritual democracy in which there is no room for any privileged class or inner circle of disciples—even the Scythians, the least refined of nations, being raised to the same level, in a spiritual sense, as the Jews themselves, or the most cultivated of the Gentiles.⁵

"THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO PHILEMON."

I. *Authorship.*

This epistle is thoroughly Pauline; and its contents are of too *private* and (from a doctrinal and ecclesiastical point of view) too *insignificant* a nature, to have ever been admitted into the Canon if it had not been a genuine writing of Paul's.⁶

¹ iv. 7-18.

² ii. 3.

³ i. 9.

⁴ i. 25-28; ii. 2, 3.

⁵ iii. 11: "Where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman: but Christ is all, and in all."

⁶ "It was preserved in the family to which it was addressed, and read first, no doubt, as a precious apostolic message of love and blessing, in the church which assembled in Philemon's house. Then copies of it became multiplied, and from Colosse it spread through the church universal. It is quoted as early as the second century,

Its close connection with Colossians has already been referred to.¹ The circumstances under which it reached Philemon, and even the latter's place of residence, would be shrouded in mystery if it were not for Colossians. Yet no hint is given there of the episode in Paul's life which gave rise to this epistle—the only thing relating to it being an allusion to Onesimus as “the faithful and beloved brother who is one of you.”² So independent are the two epistles in their contents.

2. *The Reader.*

“To Philemon our beloved, and fellow-worker.”³

To ascertain Philemon's residence we have, as already remarked, to consult the epistle to the Colossians. Philemon himself is not mentioned there; but Archippus whom Paul associates with Philemon and Apphia (probably Philemon's wife) in the opening greeting of this epistle,⁴ is mentioned in Colossians in such a way as to imply that he was an office-bearer of the Church either at Colossæ or in the neighbourhood.⁵ From the context it has been suggested that Laodicea, which was about twelve miles from Colossæ, was the scene of Archippus' labours. The association of his name with that of Philemon, in the epistle addressed to the latter, would lead us to suppose that he was Philemon's son, or possibly his minister. The connection of Philemon with Colossæ is further evident from the fact that his slave Onesimus is spoken of in the epistle to the Colossians as “one of you,” and is announced

and has ever, except with some few who question everything, remained an undoubted portion of the writings of St. Paul” (Alford, *How to Study the New Testament*). Even Marcion, with all his exclusive tendencies, admitted its genuineness. It was first called in question in the fourth century, on the ground that its matter and contents were beneath the dignity of apostolic authorship!

¹ Pp. 165-6.

² Col. iv. 9.

³ Ver. 1.

⁴ Vers. 1, 2.

⁵ Col. iv. 15-17: “Salute the brethren that are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church that is in their house. And when this epistle hath been read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea. And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.”

as a visitor to Colossæ at the same time as he is restored to his master.¹

We gather from the epistle that Philemon had been converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of the apostle,² and had since then earned a reputation for charity and devotion, his house being one of the meeting-places of the Church.³ It was owing to special circumstances, however, that he had the distinction of having an apostolic letter addressed to him. A slave of his, Onesimus by name,⁴ had absconded (like many another Phrygian slave) and made his way to Rome, the great resort of needy adventurers, apparently with the aid of money stolen from his master.⁵ There he was providentially brought under the influence of Paul, and became a confirmed Christian, endearing himself to the apostle by his grateful and devoted services in the Gospel.⁶ As Onesimus was Philemon's

¹ Col. iv. 9 (quoted p. 168, note 2); Philemon ver. 12: "whom I have sent back unto thee in his own person."

² Ver. 19: "that I say not unto thee how that thou owest to me even thine own self besides." His conversion was probably a result of Paul's labours in Ephesus about six or seven years before. (See p. 167.)

³ Ver. 2: "to the church in thy house." Vers. 4-7: "I thank my God always, making mention of thee in my prayers, hearing of thy love, and of the faith which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all the saints; . . . For I had much joy and comfort in thy love, because the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through thee, brother." The practice of meeting for worship in private houses was quite common a hundred years later. To the question of the heathen prefect: "Where do you assemble?" Justin Martyr answered, "Where each one can and will. You believe, no doubt, that we all meet together in one place; but it is not so, for the God of the Christians is not shut up in a room, but He fills heaven and earth, and is honoured everywhere by the faithful." Justin adds that his own house was ordinarily used for Christian meetings. "There is no clear example of a separate building set apart for Christian worship within the limits of the Roman empire

before the third century, though apartments in private houses might be specially devoted to this purpose." Cf. Rom. xvi. 5: "Salute the church that is in their house" (*i.e.* of Prisca and Aquila); 1 Cor. xvi. 19: "Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house"; Col. iv. 15: "Salute the brethren that are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church that is in their house."

⁴ A very common name for slaves, as inscriptions show. In the beginning of the second century, however, we find a bishop of Ephesus bearing the name—a tribute, perhaps, to the memory of the friend for whom Paul wrote this epistle.

⁵ Vers. 18, 19: "But if he hath wronged thee at all, or oweth thee ought, put that to mine account; I Paul write it with mine own hand, I will repay it."

⁶ Vers. 10-13: "I beseech thee for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds, Onesimus, who was aforetime unprofitable to thee, but now is profitable to thee and to me: whom I have sent back to thee in his own person, that is, my very heart: whom I would fain have kept with me, that in thy behalf he might minister unto me in the bonds of the gospel." Many slaves were clever and versatile men who would prove valuable converts if thoroughly consecrated; and such a man Onesimus seems to have been.

lawful slave, Paul could not think of retaining him permanently in his service, so he took the opportunity afforded by Tychicus' return to Asia to send him back to his master.¹ In doing so he gave him this letter to Philemon with the view of winning for him a merciful reception, and to save him from the severe and cruel punishment which was permitted by the Roman law—even to the extent of death—in such cases.²

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

At Rome, 62-63 A.D. (see pp. 151-5).

4. *Character and Contents.*

This is the only letter of St. Paul addressed to a friend on a matter of private business that has come down to us, although we cannot doubt that many others were written by him which have not been preserved. On all sides it has received the warmest praise and admiration—not on account of its language, which has nothing particular to recommend it, but for its *tact, delicacy, and good feeling*.³

¹ Vers. 12, 13 (quoted above); Col. iv. 7-9 (quoted p. 168, note 2).

² "The slave was absolutely at his master's disposal; for the smallest offence he might be scourged, mutilated, crucified, thrown to the wild beasts." Aristotle calls a slave "a living chattel," "a living implement," (κτῆμα τι ἐμψυχον, ἐμψυχον ὄργανον).

³ Luther said of it: "This epistle sheweth a right noble lovely example of Christian love. Here we see how St. Paul layeth himself out for poor Onesimus, and with all his means pleadeth his cause with his master; and so setteth himself as if he were Onesimus, and had himself done wrong to Philemon. Even as Christ did for us with God the Father, thus also doth St. Paul for Onesimus with Philemon. . . . We are all his Onesimi to my thinking." "Though he handleth a subject," said Calvin, "which otherwise were low and mean, yet after his manner he is borne up aloft unto God. With such modest entreaty doth he humble himself on behalf of the lowest of men, that scarce

anywhere else is the gentleness of his spirit portrayed more truly to the life." Renan calls it "a true little masterpiece of the art of letter-writing"; and Sabatier says of it that "it gleams like a pearl of the most exquisite purity in the rich treasure of the New Testament." It has often been compared with the letter of the younger Pliny to his friend Sabinianus, interceding for a freedman who had offended him; but the apostolic letter, although inferior in literary style, is based on far broader principles, and appeals to far higher motives, than the good-hearted persuasions of the cultivated Roman. For example, the following expressions, which occur in the latter, would be unworthy of a place in our epistle: "You may be angry again if he deserves it; and in this you will be the more readily pardoned if you yield now. . . . Do not torture him lest you torture yourself at the same time. For it is torture to you, when one of your gentle temper is angry."

While the apostle puts the case very strongly in favour of Onesimus—so strongly that it has been finely said, “the word emancipation seems trembling on his lips,”—he refrains from any interference with Philemon’s civil rights, seeking only to awaken within him such feelings of humanity and kindness as will be a safeguard against harsh and unbrotherly conduct.¹ In this respect the epistle affords a good illustration of the remedial and reforming influence of the Gospel, which seeks to gain its ends from within and not from without, by persuasion rather than by compulsion.²

It has been described as the letter of a Christian *gentleman*, animated by strong Christian feeling, tempered with discretion, and expressed with dignity and modera-

¹ Vers: 14-17. “but without thy mind I would do nothing; that thy goodness should not be as of necessity, but of free will. For perhaps he was therefore parted from thee for a season, that thou shouldest have him for ever; no longer as a servant, but more than a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much rather to thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord. If then thou countest me a partner, receive him as myself.” Vers. 20, 21: “Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord: refresh my heart in Christ. Having confidence in thine obedience I write unto thee, knowing that thou wilt do even beyond what I say.”

² While asserting the equality of all men, in a moral and spiritual sense, in the sight of God, the apostle recognised slavery as an existing institution, which must be submitted to by those who could not legally obtain their freedom, and exhorted slaves to be obedient to their “masters according to the flesh” (1 Cor. vii. 21-24; Eph. vi. 5-9; Col. iii. 22—iv. 1). The slave system was so long established, and so widespread (the number of slaves in many cities far exceeding that of the freemen), that for the apostles to have set themselves in direct opposition to the law, by preaching emancipation as an essential part of the gospel, would have been to rouse against them the hostility of the governing and educated classes, and might have led to a servile war, which would have cost thousands of lives, and would probably only have

fastened their chains more securely on the necks of the victims. But by teaching the universal brotherhood of men in Jesus Christ, and admitting all alike to full communion in the Church, the apostles brought an influence to bear upon society which could not fail in course of time to lead to the abolition of slavery, and which very soon led to voluntary efforts on the part of congregations to purchase the freedom of their slave-members, as well as to a change of social sentiment with regard to those who remained in that condition. “Among the heroes and heroines of the Church, were found not a few members of this class. When slave-girls, like Blandina in Gaul, or Felicitas in Africa, having won for themselves the crown of martyrdom, were celebrated in the festivals of the Church with honours denied to the most powerful and noblest born of mankind, social prejudice had received a wound which could never be healed” (Lightfoot). In the measures passed by Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, for ameliorating the condition of slaves, we have the initiation of a movement which was to culminate in the nineteenth century, in the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire, the liberation of twenty millions of serfs by the Emperor of Russia, the emancipation of the negro in the United States of America, and the final effort to heal “the open sore of the world” in the dark continent of Africa.

tion not untouched with humour.¹ The whole tone and structure of the letter was well fitted to bring out the better nature of Philemon ; and it was doubtless to strengthen the appeal—by making Philemon realise that the eyes of his fellow-Christians were upon him—that Paul associates Timothy with himself in his opening greeting, which is addressed not to Philemon alone, but also to other Christian members of his household, and to the congregation meeting for worship in his house ;² and he sends salutations from several others whose names are given at the close.³ He even throws out a hint that it may not be long before he visits Philemon in person.⁴

¹ In ver. 11 there is a play on the name "Onesimus," which in the original (*Ὀνήσιμος*) means "profitable"; and also in ver. 20, *ὀναίμην* (onaimen), "let me have help of thee." Perhaps there is a similar play of words in *ἀχρηστον* (achreston=unprofitable), and *εὐχρηστον* (euchreston=profitable) of ver. 11 with reference to the word *Χριστός* (Christos). Farrar calls attention to an interesting parallel in the language of an English preacher (Whitfield) when appealing to the comedian Shuter, who had often played the character of Ramble. "And thou, poor Ramble, who hast so often

rambled from Him, oh, end thy ramblings and come to Jesus."

² Vers. 1, 2: "Paul, a prisoner of Christ Jesus, and Timothy our brother, to Philemon our beloved and fellow-worker, and to Apphia our sister, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house."

³ Vers. 23, 24: "Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus, saluteth thee; and so do Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow-workers."

⁴ Ver. 22: "But withal prepare me also a lodging; for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you."

CHAPTER XVI.

"THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE EPHESIANS."

1. *Authorship.*

AS regards external evidence, this is one of the *best-attested* of Paul's epistles; and until recently its genuineness was never doubted.¹

Internally it bears a *strong resemblance to Colossians*, seventy-eight of its one hundred and fifty-five verses containing expressions that are also found in that epistle.² No

¹ Echoes of its language, more or less distinct, are found in the writings of Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, and Ignatius. The last-named writer, *in his letter to the Ephesians*, refers to Paul as "making mention of you in Christ Jesus, in all his epistle" (or "in every epistle," *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ*). Polycarp quotes as Scripture what appears to be a passage in *Ephesians*: "Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, 'Irascimini, et nolite peccare' et 'Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.'" The epistle was acknowledged by Marcion; it is included in the Muratorian Canon, and in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions; and it is expressly quoted as Paul's by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.

² *E.g. cf.* the following parallel passages:—Eph. i. 21-23: "far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: and he put all things in subjection under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all"; Col. i. 16-19: "for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him, and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him

all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in him should all the fulness dwell." Eph. iv. 15, 16: "but speaking truth in love, may grow up in all things into him, which is the head, even Christ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love"; Col. ii. 19: "And not holding fast the Head, from whom all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God." Eph. iv. 22-24: "that ye put away, as concerning your former manner of life, the old man, which waxeth corrupt after the lusts of deceit; and that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, which after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth"; Col. iii. 9, 10: "lie not one to another; seeing that ye have put off the old man with his doings, and have put on the new man, which is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of him that created him." Eph. v. 19, 20: "speaking one to another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody with your heart to the Lord;

doubt the resemblance is due to the fact that the two epistles were written at the *same time* on *kindred subjects* to *kindred Churches*. In both epistles Tychicus is referred to in similar terms as the apostle's messenger; and they both bear to have been written by the apostle while he was a prisoner.¹ From the occurrence of the significant word "also" in the parallel passage of this epistle,² we may infer that it was written later than the other, although but a few days may have intervened—the closing verses of Colossians having been subsequently added.³ As might have been expected under the circumstances, the similarity between the two epistles does not extend to continuous passages, but is confined to single verses and occasional expressions such as would be likely to remain in the writer's memory and reappear in his language if he were writing a second time within a very short interval.⁴

giving thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God, even the Father"; Col. iii. 16, 17: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts unto God. And whatsoever ye do, in word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him." Eph. v. 22—vi. 9, and Col. iii. 18—iv. 1, relating to various forms of domestic duty.

¹ iv. 1: "I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord"; vi. 19-22: "the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in chains; that in it I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak. But that ye also may know my affairs, how I do, Tychicus, the beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts"; Col. iv. 3: "the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds"; vers. 7-9: "All my affairs shall Tychicus make known unto you, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord: whom I have sent unto you for this very purpose, that ye may know our estate, and that he may comfort your hearts."

² See last note.

³ iv. 15-18: "Salute the brethren," &c. (quoted p. 165, note 3).

⁴ Attempts have been made to show that one of the epistles is a spurious imitation of the other, Colossians being generally regarded as the original. But a practical refutation of such views has been furnished by Holzmann—himself a believer only in a genuine nucleus of Colossians, which he supposes to have disappeared—when he points out seven passages in which Ephesians appears to be the original (Eph. i. 4=Col. i. 22; Eph. i. 6, 7=Col. i. 13, 14; Eph. iii. 3, 5, 9=Col. i. 26, ii. 2; Eph. iii. 17, 18, iv. 16, ii. 20=Col. i. 23, ii. 2, 7; Eph. iv. 16=Col. ii. 19; Eph. iv. 22-24=Col. iii. 9, 10; Eph. v. 19=Col. iii. 16); and an equal number of passages, in which the priority must be assigned to Colossians—(Col. i. 1, 2=Eph. i. 1, 2; Col. i. 3-9=Eph. i. 15-18; Col. i. 5=Eph. i. 3, 12, 13; Col. i. 25-29=Eph. iii. 2, 7; Col. ii. 4-8=Eph. iv. 17-21; Col. iv. 5=Eph. v. 15, 16; Col. iv. 6=Eph. iv. 29). Add to this that in some respects the two epistles are widely different (see p. 183), and it will be seen that common authorship, as above stated, is the only reasonable explanation of the phenomena. Besides, as Dr. Salmon observes, such an unstudied digression as we find in Eph. iii. 1—iv. 1 ('*anacolouthon*') proves "that we have here, not the calm work of an imitator of another man's production, but the fervid utterances of an original writer, whom a rush of fresh thoughts occasionally carries away from what he had been about to say."

We have a remarkable token of the genuineness of this epistle, as of several others attributed to Paul, in the fact that while the writer dwells with great satisfaction on the admission of the Gentiles to the blessings of the Gospel, he expresses himself with regard to it in the language of a patriotic Jew, to whom this expansion of the Messiah's kingdom is a new and marvellous dispensation of divine providence. He speaks with the greatest reverence of the position and privileges of God's ancient people, showing that in a spiritual sense the Gentiles are now raised to an equality with them, and that, in this sense, the rite of circumcision, in particular, is realised in the hearts of all true Christians.¹ This is a state of feeling which was most natural in a Jewish-born Christian like Paul, after the struggle against the bondage of the Law, in which he had himself taken a leading part, was practically over.

¹ ii. 11-20: "Wherefore remember, that aforetime ye, the Gentiles in the flesh, who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called Circumcision, in the flesh, made by hands; that ye were at that time separate from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of the promise, having no hope and without God in the world. But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; that he might create in himself of the twain one new man, so making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; and he came and preached peace to you that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh: for through him we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father. So then ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone"; iii. 1-9: "... the mystery of Christ; which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, as it hath now

been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit; to wit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel, whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of that grace of God which was given me according to the working of his power. Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God who created all things." The same token of genuineness may be seen in other epistles of Paul, *e.g.* Col. ii. 11: "in whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ"; Phil. iii. 2, 3: "Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the concision: for we are the circumcision, who worship by the Spirit of God, and glory in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh"; Gal. vi. 16: "And as many as shall walk by this rule, peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God"; Rom. ii. 28, 29: "For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circum-

2. *The Readers.*

It is now generally agreed that this epistle was not addressed to the Church at Ephesus exclusively, but was of the nature of a *circular-letter* for the general use of the Churches of Proconsular Asia.

In favour of this supposition are the facts (1) that the words "in Ephesus," in the opening verse, were absent from many of the ancient MSS. known to Basil (360 A.D.), and are wanting in the two oldest MSS. that have come down to us;¹ (2) that no personal salutations are found in the epistle although Paul had laboured successfully for several years at Ephesus, forming many intimate friendships,² nor any reference whatever to his experiences during that time; (3) that he writes as if the Christian graces of his readers were only known to him by report, and as if his apostleship to the Gentiles were only known to them by hearsay;³ (4) that the usual apostolic autograph is absent, owing, we may suppose, to copies of the epistle for the several Churches having to be made out in the course of the messengers' journeys or at the different places at which they had to be delivered.⁴

cision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God."

¹ **Σ** and **B.** τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, "to the saints which are also the faithful in Christ Jesus."

² Acts xx. 17-38: "Ye yourselves know, from the first day that I set foot in Asia, after what manner I was with you all the time, serving the Lord with all lowliness of mind, and with tears, and with trials which befell me by the plots of the Jews: how that I shrank not from declaring unto you anything that was profitable, and teaching you publicly, and from house to house. . . . Wherefore watch ye, remembering that by the space of three years I ceased not to admonish every one night and day with tears. . . ."

³ i. 15, 16: "For this cause I also, having heard of the faith in the Lord Jesus which is among you, and which ye

shew toward all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers." iv. 20, 21: "But ye did not so learn Christ; if so be that ye heard him, and were taught in him, even as truth is in Jesus." iii. 1-4: "For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus in behalf of you Gentiles,—if so be that ye have heard of the dispensation of that grace of God which was given me to you-ward; how that by revelation was made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote afore in few words, whereby, when ye read, ye can perceive my understanding in the mystery of Christ." *Cf.* Col. i. 4-9 (quoted p. 167, note 1).

⁴ The indirect form of the Benediction at the close of the epistle (vi. 23): "Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith," is also a corroborative circumstance, being found nowhere else in Paul's epistles; *cf.* Col. iv. 18: "Grace be with you." The great thought of the epistle, too, viz., the unity of the holy catholic

There can be little doubt, indeed, that we have here the epistle referred to in the letter addressed to the Colossians, where the apostle directs them to read also "*the epistle from Laodicea*," and to send their own letter in exchange, for the benefit of the Christians there.¹ Even before the middle of the second century we find a heretical writer (Marcion) giving this epistle the title *To the Laodiceans*.² Yet it is evident that it could not have been specially addressed to Laodicea, as the apostle sends his salutations to "the brethren that are in Laodicea" through another channel.³ The difficulty is met by supposing that we have here a circular-letter of which Laodicea received a copy in common with other Churches of the province,—to be communicated to the neighbouring Church at Colossæ. The name of the Ephesian Church would naturally become associated with the epistle, owing to its being the leading Church of the district, probably receiving the first copy from Tychicus when he landed at its port on his way to Colossæ, and becoming the source of many later copies to Churches in other parts of the world.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

At Rome, 62-63 A.D. (see pp. 151-5).

4. *Character and Contents.*

It has been said by Coleridge that this is "one of the divinest compositions of man. It embraces every doctrine of Christianity; first, those doctrines peculiar to Christianity; secondly, those precepts common to it with

Church, is eminently suitable for such a letter; and Asia Minor was rapidly becoming the leading province of Christendom; cf. Rev. i. 4: "John to the seven churches which are in Asia."

This is not a recent theory. It was advocated by an English scholar (Archbishop Ussher), in the seventeenth century.

¹ Col. iv. 16.

² This we learn from Tertullian, who

preferred, however, the common and traditional title, "*To the Ephesians*"—although he adds "*nihil autem de titulis interest.*" Epiphanius says of Marcion, "He has also portions of the epistle called *To the Laodiceans*; but the quotation that he gives from it is almost identical with a passage in our Ephesians" (viz. iv. 5, 6).

³ Col. iv. 15.

natural religion." In its *doctrinal* part¹ the epistle is distinguished by a tone of exultation which will not stoop to controversy, expressing itself in the flow of a sublime eloquence rather than in the form of a logical argument. Instead of labouring to demonstrate those truths, regarding the standing of the Gentiles and his own position as the apostle of the Gentiles, for which he had contended in his earlier epistles, the writer takes these things for granted and soars into far loftier regions—viewing the Gospel and the Church in relation not to time, but to eternity, not to the nations of the world, but to the universe at large. Here, as in Colossians, Paul recognises Christ as the appointed *Head of the universe*—material as well as spiritual—and sees in His atoning death the universal centre of divine providence. Here, as there, he is thrilled with a sense of joy not untouched with awe when he contemplates the great mystery of the divine will—the eternal purpose of God so long concealed, but now at length revealed and so far realised through his instrumentality, to wit, the destined union of Jew and Gentile in the mystical body of the risen and exalted Christ. In this union he sees the pledge and token of that universal gathering together in one of "all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth," that is to be the consummation of God's purposes in Christ.² But, whereas in Colossians he dwells mainly on the *person of Christ* as the "fulness of the Godhead bodily," here he is impelled rather to the contemplation of the *Church* as "the body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all,"³ and expatiates upon the ideal glory and

¹ Chaps. i.—iii.

² i. 10.

³ This is not the only difference between the two epistles. "The characteristic phrase, 'the heavenlies,' which occurs five times in Ephesians, does not occur once in Colossians. Five sections in Ephesians—that which states the fore-ordained unity of the redeemed Universal Church (i. 3-14); that about living in a way worthy of this

ideal unity (iv. 1-15); that which contrasts the deeds of darkness and light (v. 7-14); that about the mystery of Christian marriages (v. 22-33); and that about the Christian armour (vi. 10-17)—have no parallel in Colossians. Ephesians has seven Old Testament allusions, Colossians has only one. Again, Colossians is brief and logical, Ephesians more lyrical and diffuse. . . . Colossians is St. Paul's 'argument, his process, his

riches of the spiritual blessing with which its members are blessed in heavenly places in Christ.¹

The first half of the epistle is thus for the most part a hymn of praise for the *grace of God*, manifested "according to His good pleasure which He purposed in him" (*i.e.* Christ),—accompanied with the apostle's prayer for his readers that they may realise the glory of their *calling*. Hence it was Calvin's favourite epistle, as Galatians was of Luther.

In the second part the apostle descends by a swift and beautiful transition to the *duties of common life*, "I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye were called."² He thus introduces a series of practical exhortations, based on the ideal unity of the Church as the harmonious body of Christ, and embracing the various forms of social and domestic duty to which "the new man" is called in the ordinary relations of life.³ Finally there is a stirring call to put on the whole armour of God for the conflict with the powers of evil,—expressed in the language of a metaphor which may have been suggested to Paul by his military surroundings at Rome, and forming a passage of great force and beauty, which of itself would make this epistle a precious heritage of the Church.⁴

The catholic nature of this epistle shows that the apostle's education was well-nigh complete. The Saviour, whom he only knew at his conversion as the Risen One dwelling in another world, has become to him as an all-pervading Presence which may be realised even now

caution'; Ephesians is instruction passing into prayer, a Creed soaring into an impassioned Psalm" (Farrar). Findlay (*The Epistles of Paul*, p. 180) suggests that this "amplitude of style which is a new feature in the apostle's manner as a writer" was "due perhaps to the leisure of prison and the habit of meditation which it fostered"; and he points out that it is not altogether absent from Colossians (i. 9-11, 16-20, 27-29).

¹ The word "spirit" or "spiritual" and "the grace of God" occur, each of them, 13 times in this epistle; the expression "in Christ" (or equivalent) still more frequently; and "the heavens" 5 times, this being "emphatically the Epistle of the Ascension."

² iv. 1.

³ iv. 1-16 (church life); iv. 17 — v. 21 (life in the world); v. 22 — vi. 9 (life in the family).

⁴ vi. 10, *seq.*

in the sphere of common life, as the type of all affection and the centre of all authority, in the State and in the family as well as in the Church.¹ During his residence at Rome, the seat of empire and the centre of the world's secular life, Paul learned, as he had never yet done, the meaning of the Saviour's prayer, "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."²

¹ Compare, for example, his view of marriage, the original and central relationship of human life, in this epistle (v. 22-33), and in 1 Cor. (xi.) written about five years before. "He had all along maintained the lawfulness of the matrimonial state: he had in certain cases asserted its expediency. But at the stage of the Roman captivity marriage has become to him not only in some cases expedient, but in every case sacramental. . . . It has become in Paul's sight the shadow and the type on earth of that which he regarded as the central fact of heaven,—the union between the Christ of love and the Church which He had purchased with His blood" (Matheson, *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*).

² "His vision of divine truth at Corinth had partaken somewhat of the manner of Greece. Just as the Greek

beheld the divine influence only where he beheld the human beauty, so Paul in the Corinthian stage of his history had recognised the sacramental headship only where he saw the union of the ecclesiastical members. But when Paul reached Rome, he began to see after the manner of Rome. The kingdom of God to him took that form which the kingdom of Cæsar assumed to the Latin race—the form of a membership which was connected with all other memberships. . . . What the citizens of the empire beheld merely as a coin bearing the superscription of Cæsar was reflected to his gaze with the stamp and impress of the Son of man. Instead of contemplating, as in days of yore, the dissolution of its life, he began to contemplate the Christianising of its life." (Matheson, *ibid.*)

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

1 and 2 Timothy and Titus are known as the Pastoral Epistles, because they relate chiefly to the qualifications and duties of office-bearers entrusted with the pastoral care of the Church.¹

They are distinguished from all the other epistles of Paul by their *want of historical agreement* with any period in the life of the apostle as recorded in the Book of Acts,² and also by their *strongly-marked individuality* alike in style and substance. Hence their genuineness has been more called in question than any of the other epistles of Paul³—notwithstanding a large amount of external testimony in their favour.⁴

¹ The name is less applicable, however, to 2 Timothy, which turns largely on the *personal relations* between St. Paul and Timothy.

² Ingenious attempts have been made by Wieseler and others to find a place for them in the period embraced by the Book of Acts, but without success.

³ The question was raised by Schmidt (1804), followed by Schleiermacher (1807), who admitted the genuineness of 2 Timothy and Titus, but pronounced 1 Timothy to be a forgery. A little later all three epistles were rejected by Eichhorn and De Wette. In 1835 Baur opened his assault on the New Testament by his treatise on "the so-called Pastoral Epistles of the Apostle Paul," in which he assigned them to the middle of the second century, as occasioned by the heresies of Marcion, which they were intended to counteract. More recently this opinion has been maintained by Holzmann, Hilgenfeld, and Pfleiderer; but the general tendency, even among negative critics, has been to concede an earlier date. It has also come to be generally acknowledged that the three epistles present one com-

mon problem which must be dealt with as a whole, although there are still some comparatively recent writers (Bleek, Reuss, Ewald, Renan, Hausrath) that reject 1 Timothy, but are disposed to admit the genuineness of 2 Timothy, or even of 2 Timothy and Titus, in whole or in part. "Some passages of these letters," says Renan (who dates them about 100 A.D.), "are so beautiful that one may well ask whether the forger had not in his hands some authentic notes of Paul which he fitted into his apocryphal composition." "You can perceive the influence of Paul: a sort of sobriety in mysticism: and amid the strangest excesses of faith in the supernatural a great fund of rectitude and sincerity." Among English writers excellent statements for the defence have been furnished by Dr. Salmon, Canon Farrar, Dr. Wace (Speaker's Commentary), Rev. G. G. Findlay (in Sabatier's "The Apostle Paul"), Dr. Dodds and others.

⁴ There are several echoes, more or less distinct, in Clement of Rome and Ignatius; and in Polycarp the resemblances to passages in 1 and 2 Timothy

The objections taken to them, however, on these grounds are almost entirely obviated if we suppose them to have been written *subsequently* to the events narrated in the Book of Acts. This is a supposition that in itself involves no improbability. It was Paul's own expectation¹ that he would be released from the imprisonment in which the Book of Acts leaves him; and for this expectation he seems to have had sufficient grounds in the inadequacy of the evidence brought against him, as well as in the tolerant attitude of the Roman Government previous to the great fire in Rome (64 A.D.), which was falsely attributed to the Christians and brought terrible persecutions in its train.² Moreover, there is an early and general tradition to the effect that he was released.³ Assuming that his liberation did take place, the difficulty of harmonising the epistles with his life disappears; while

are too marked to have been due to accident. This indirect evidence of Polycarp is confirmed by the express testimony of his disciple Irenæus, who attributes all three epistles to Paul; and their testimony is the more valuable, because both writers were well acquainted with Ephesus, where Timothy was stationed when he received the two epistles that bear his name. There are also apparent quotations from one or more of the epistles in Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, the letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, and Theophilus—the last named quoting 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, as “the Divine word.” The three epistles are also found in the oldest Versions and the Muratorian Canon, and were considered genuine by the Church Fathers who wrote at the close of the second century. It is true that they were rejected by Marcion and Basilides, and, in part, by Tatian; but this, as Clement of Alexandria and Jerome tell us, was owing to the difficulty these heretics had in reconciling the teaching of the epistles with their peculiar tenets. Even such a hostile critic as Dr. S. Davidson admits that “the early heretical opposition to the epistles seems to have been prompted by doctrinal prepossessions, and cannot overbalance other testimonies.”

¹ Philippians ii. 24: “but I trust in the Lord that I myself also shall come

shortly.” Philemon, ver. 22: “But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you.”

² If Paul's trial had resulted in conviction and punishment, it would have formed a precedent which must have been followed in other cases for a considerable time previous to 64 A.D.—all the more so because he was a Roman citizen. But this is inconsistent with the statements of Tacitus.—Prof. Ramsay, *Expositor*, July 1893.

³ Our earliest informant is Clement of Rome (i. 5), who speaks of the apostle as “having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the boundary of the West” (ἐπὶ τὸ πέραμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθόν). Lightfoot interprets this latter clause, coming from the pen of one resident in Rome, as referring to “the western extremity of Spain, the pillars of Hercules,” which is also the view taken by Gebhardt and Harnack. It finds important confirmation in the Muratorian Fragment, where Luke is stated to have omitted, in the Book of Acts, the departure of Paul from the city when setting out for Spain” (profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis), because he confined himself to what fell under his own observation. Eusebius, a century or two later, mentions that St. Paul, “after having defended himself, is said

the late date of their composition—possibly some years after his release—would go far to account for the peculiarity of their contents. It is no wonder that questions of discipline and government as well as of orthodoxy should now receive from the apostle a larger measure of attention than they had done hitherto, considering the growing needs of the Church arising from the gradual expansion of its organisations as a corporate body held together by a common creed. The Church had now been for many years a visible institution with office-bearers of its own; and important doctrines had been vindicated and established. To conserve these doctrines and to provide for the regular superintendence of the Church after he and the other apostles had passed away, was Paul's great object in writing these epistles.

The large infusion of new words in these epistles has been represented as a mark of spuriousness. But on the whole their introduction is only in accordance with the gradual expansion of the apostle's vocabulary, which is evident on a comparison of his successive writings;¹ and, in particular, many of these words are new simply because the things they signify had not previously come within the

to have set forth again upon the ministry of preaching, and to have entered the same city a second time, and to have there ended his life by martyrdom." In the face of these statements, accepted by many subsequent writers, it is surely too much for Dr. S. Davidson to say that Paul's release is "historically baseless." But even this is not sufficient for his purpose; he would require to show that it is historically *false*. Otherwise it is a legitimate hypothesis in the case for the defence.

¹ Among other interesting computations, Findlay mentions that "in the two Thessalonian epistles, forming the first group of Paul's writings, there is an average of five hapax-legomena (*i.e.* words not elsewhere used in the New Testament) to the chapter; in Romans, of the second group, the average is nearly seven; in Ephesians and Colossians taken together, eight; in Philippians, a little later,—although the subject-matter is of so general a purport—the figure

reaches ten. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pastorals furnish *thirteen* hapax-legomena to the chapter, especially when it is considered that this is the last group of the four, and that if later writings from the same hand had been extant, the list of its peculiarities would in all likelihood have been reduced." Moreover, there are special links of connection between the Pastoral Epistles and the immediately preceding group of the Imprisonment. As regards expression, compare *e.g.* 2 Tim. iv. 6-8: "For I am already being *offered*, and the time of my *departure* is come. I have fought the good *fight*, I have finished the *course*, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the *crown* of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day," with Phil. i. 23: "having the desire to *depart*"; i. 30: "the same *conflict* which ye saw in me"; ii. 17: "Yea, and if I am *offered* upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy,

scope of the apostle's teaching. For it must be remembered that the Pastoral Epistles differ widely from the other writings of St. Paul alike as regards their recipients—friends and colleagues, not congregations—and the ecclesiastical questions with which they deal.

The idea that the epistles may have been the products of a *later age* is in many respects untenable. Both as regards the office-bearers mentioned, namely, bishops and deacons, and the doctrinal needs and dangers of the Church, they remind us far more of the state of things existing during Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, when he wrote Philippians and Colossians, than of anything in the second century. The name "bishop" is here applied to the "presbyters" or elders themselves as the overseers of the congregation,¹ instead of being appropriated, as it was

and rejoice with you all"; iii. 14: "I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." In each of the two epistles as thus quoted there are two Greek words (*σπένδομαι* and *ἀνάλυσις* or *ἀναλῦσαι*) which are found nowhere else in the New Testament, and a third (*ἀγών*) which is peculiar to St. Paul's writings and is of rare occurrence. It has also been observed that a remarkable feature common to these two groups of epistles, is "an increasing fondness for *compound* words, sometimes of strange and original forms." The catholicity of spirit which we have seen to be characteristic of the Epistle to the Ephesians is here even more striking, *e.g.* in 1 Tim. ii. 4: "who willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth"; iv. 10: "the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe"; Titus ii. 11: "For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men"; Titus i. 15: "To the pure all things are pure"; 1 Tim. iv. 4: "For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving."

A resemblance can be traced between the language of the Pastoral Epistles and that of St. Luke's writings (*cf.* 2 Tim. iv. 11: "Only Luke is with me") as well as of the Epistle to the Hebrews (*cf.* Heb. xiii. 23: "Know ye that our brother Timothy hath been set at

liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you"). A number of Latinisms have also been discovered, due to Paul's long residence at Rome. Some of the leading and typical expressions occurring in these epistles will be found on pp. 199, 200. A complete list of the words and phrases peculiar to them (amounting to about one-fifth of the whole) is given by Davidson and Holzmänn, and will also be found in Thayer's Appendix to Grimm's New Testament Lexicon.

¹ *E.g.* Titus i. 5-7: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that were wanting, and appoint elders in every city, as I gave thee charge; if any man is blameless, the husband of one wife, having children that believe, who are not accused of riot or unruly. For the bishop must be blameless, as God's steward; not selfwilled, not soon angry, no brawler, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre"; *cf.* Acts xx. 17-28: "And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called to him the elders of the church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them, Ye yourselves know, from the first day that I set foot in Asia, after what manner I was with you all the time. . . . Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the church of God, which he purchased with his own blood."

early in the second century, to a chief dignitary exercising authority over the other office-bearers (see pp. 162-3 and *notes* there). Moreover, the "knowledge falsely so called"¹ which is denounced in these epistles comes far short of the elaborate Gnosticism of the second century, which set itself in direct opposition to the orthodox faith, and repudiated all affinity with the Jewish law. The errors which the apostle here combats are evidently of a vague and unformed character, awaiting further development, as he indicates by his references to the future;² and in particular they bear traces of that semi-Jewish character³ which we know to have belonged to Christian Gnosticism in its earlier stages. In this respect, as well as in the morbid asceticism professed by the false teachers,⁴ the corrupt form of Christianity that meets us here is very similar to that which is dealt with in the epistle to the Colossians,—but exhibited in a somewhat ranker growth.

"THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
TIMOTHY."

I. *Authorship.*

The strong external evidence in favour of the genuineness of this epistle has been already mentioned. We can trace allusion to it as far back as the close of the first

¹ In the phrase "oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called" (1 Tim. vi. 20), Baur saw a reference to Marcion's work entitled *Antitheses* which set the Law and the Gospel in opposition to one another. But, as Davidson admits, "probably the word translated *oppositions* (ἀντιθέσεις) means dogmas opposed to sound doctrine, not *antitheses* in the specifically Marcionite sense."

² 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17; iii. 1.

³ 1 Tim. i. 7: "desiring to be teachers of the law"; Titus i. 10: "For there are many unruly men, vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be

stopped"; i. 14: "not giving heed to Jewish fables"; iii. 9: "fightings about the law." The "fables and endless genealogies" of 1 Tim. i. 4 (*cf.* Titus iii. 9: "shun foolish questionings, and genealogies, and strifes, and fightings about the law; for they are unprofitable and vain") have probably also a Jewish reference, as "there are in the Jewish Kabala genealogies of various kinds which may have had their prototype in very early days."

⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 3: "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by them that believe and know the truth," &c.

century. A hundred years later we find it universally accepted as Paul's, although it had been rejected in the course of the second century by one or two heretical writers, owing to the difficulty of reconciling its teaching with their favourite tenets.

In a general sense its peculiarities in language and contents have also been accounted for. In some respects, however, these peculiarities are positively in favour of the Pauline authorship. How unlikely that a forger should have inserted the word "mercy" in the usual Pauline greeting "grace and peace,"¹ or have omitted to make frequent use of the connecting particles "therefore," "wherefore," "then," "as," &c., which are so common in Paul's writings.²

Objection has been taken to the expression "let no man despise thy youth,"³ as if the apostle could not have applied that language to Timothy when he may have been a man of thirty-five years of age. But we have here rather a token of genuineness. For youth is relative; and in Paul's eyes Timothy, being so much his junior, and having been known to him as a lad, would naturally seem young, especially in view of his great responsibilities in being set over so many elders.

Equally groundless is the objection that Paul had predicted to the Ephesian elders that he should see their face no more, whereas this epistle implies that he had recently paid them another visit.⁴ For the words quoted contain the expression of a presentiment or at most of a conviction, not of an inspired prophecy, on the part of the apostle; and, besides, the language of this epistle, "as I exhorted thee to tarry at Ephesus, when I was going into Macedonia,"⁵ does not necessarily imply that the writer himself had been at Ephesus. It is quite possible he may

¹ 1 Tim. i. 2: "Grace, mercy, peace, from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord." So 2 Tim. i. 2, but in Titus i. 4 (R.V.) we find the usual form "Grace and peace . . ."

² ἄρα, διό, ἔπειτα, ὥσπερ, ἔτι,

οὐκέτι, μήπως, ἰδοὺ, are not found in the Pastoral Epistles.

³ iv. 12.

⁴ Acts xx. 25.

⁵ i. 3.

have exhorted Timothy by a message from a distance, or have met him at Miletus as he had met the Ephesian elders several years before.

Again it has been argued that the instructions contained in this epistle might have been more easily given by the apostle in person during his recent visit to Ephesus, or on the subsequent visit to which he was still looking forward.¹ But this latter visit was evidently regarded by the apostle as very uncertain; while the former one, as we have seen, is a very doubtful inference. Even if it be true, however, that the apostle had recently been at Ephesus, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that it was in consequence of what he then learned of the condition of the Church, and as the result of subsequent reflection, that he was led to furnish Timothy with these rules and directions in a written form, which might be of permanent service, and, if necessary, be referred to in the hearing of the congregation.

2. *The Reader.*

"Unto Timothy, my true child in faith." The disciple thus addressed was one of the apostle's converts, and became his dearest friend and coadjutor in the closing years of his life. Of a pious Jewish family by the mother's side—his father was a Greek—he received a strict religious training in the scriptures of the Old Testament.² He seems to have been converted to Christianity during Paul's

¹iii. 14, 15: "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how men ought to behave themselves in the house of God."

²Acts xvi. 1-3: "And he came also to Derbe and to Lystra: and behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timothy, the son of a Jewess which believed; but his father was a Greek. The same was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium. Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and he took and circumcised him because of the Jews that were in those

parts: for they all knew that his father was a Greek"; 2 Tim. i. 2: "to Timothy, my beloved child"; ver. 5: "having been reminded of the unfeigned faith that is in thee; which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice; and, I am persuaded, in thee also"; 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15: "But abide thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

first visit to Lystra and Derbe; for on the apostle's second visit to that quarter about three years afterwards, Timothy was a disciple so well reported of by the brethren at Lystra and Iconium as to be deemed worthy of being associated with Paul as a labourer in the Gospel.¹ To this position he was duly ordained by the laying on of hands, after being circumcised to render him more acceptable to the Jews.² Thereafter we find him constantly associated with the apostle either as his companion or as his delegate to Churches at a distance—although his influence seems to have been somewhat weakened by a certain timidity and softness of disposition.³ He was with the apostle during his first imprisonment at Rome, being associated with him in three of the four epistles which Paul then wrote.⁴ From this epistle we gather that after the apostle's release Timothy was left for a time in charge of the Church at Ephesus; and it was while in this trying and responsible position that he received the two epistles that bear his name.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

This epistle seems to have been sent to Timothy from Macedonia under the circumstances referred to in the first

¹ Acts xvi. 1-3 (quoted p. 192); 1 Tim. i. 2: "unto Timothy, my true child in faith"; 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11: "But thou didst follow my teaching, conduct, purpose, faith, longsuffering, love, patience, persecutions, sufferings; what things befell me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured; and out of them all the Lord delivered me." Cf. Acts xiv. 8-23.

² Acts xvi. 3 (quoted above); 1 Tim. iv. 14: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery"; vi. 12: "Fight the good fight of the faith, lay hold on the life eternal, whereunto thou wast called, and didst confess the good confession in the sight of many witnesses"; 2 Tim. i. 6: "For the which cause I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my hands."

³ 1 Cor. iv. 17: "For this cause have I sent unto you Timothy, who is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, who shall put you in remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, even as I teach everywhere in every church"; xvi. 10, 11: "Now if Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear; for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do: let no man therefore despise him. But set him forward on his journey in peace, that he may come unto me: for I expect him with the brethren." Cf. the earnest personal exhortations addressed to him in these epistles (1 Tim. iv. 14-16; vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 14; ii. 1-7; iv. 1, 2, 5).

⁴ Philippians i. 1; Colossians i. 1; Philemon 1. Also in the two earliest epistles of St. Paul, viz., 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

chapter;¹ but whether before or after Paul's intended visits to Philippi, Colossæ, and Spain—which, according to an ancient tradition originating in the first century, he did visit—it is quite impossible to say.² Various routes have been sketched by which Paul may have travelled after his release from Rome, comprising visits to the places just mentioned and also to Ephesus, Crete, Nicopolis, and Troas; but they are all more or less conjectural.³ While it is impossible to ascertain the precise movements of the apostle after his release, or the exact year in which this epistle was written, we may safely place its composition between 64 A.D., the year after Paul's release, and 67 A.D., shortly before his death,—the date usually assigned to the latter event being 68 A.D., the last year of Nero, under whom, according to the general tradition, Paul suffered martyrdom. The most probable date for the epistle is 67 A.D., which gives an interval of several years to account for the change in the apostle's style and in the condition of the Church, and makes the three Pastoral Epistles very nearly contemporaneous.

4. *Its Character and Contents.*

These have been already indicated in the general remarks on the Pastoral Epistles (p. 186ff.). The letter is partly official, partly personal. While addressed to Timothy individually, it contains Paul's apostolic instructions to guide him in the work of supervision assigned to

¹ i. 3, 4: "As I exhorted thee to tarry at Ephesus, when I was going into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge certain men not to teach a different doctrine, neither to give heed to fables and endless genealogies, the which minister questionings, rather than a dispensation of God which is in faith; so do I now."

² Phil. ii. 24: "But I trust in the Lord that I myself also shall come shortly"; Philemon, ver. 22: "But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted

unto you"; Rom. xv. 24: "Whosoever I go unto Spain (for I hope to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first in some measure I shall have been satisfied with your company)."

³ Titus i. 5: "For this cause left I thee in Crete"; Titus iii. 12: "Give diligence to come unto me to Nicopolis: for there I have determined to winter"; 2 Tim. iv. 13: "The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, bring when thou comest, and the books, especially the parchments."

him at Ephesus.¹ The anticipations of evil which Paul had expressed to the Ephesian elders at Miletus² had already in some measure been realised, and there was great need for wisdom in the rulers of the Church. It is not easy to trace any regular sequence in the topics discussed ; but the contents of the epistle may be summarised as follows :—

The folly and danger of the Judaic fancies with which false teachers were overlaying the Gospel (chapter i.) ; exhortations to catholicity of spirit as well as to reverence and decorum in acts of worship (ii.) ; the qualifications requisite in the office-bearers of the Church (bishops and deacons), and the need for fidelity and care on their part in view of the increasing corruption (iii.) ; counsels regarding Timothy's treatment of the elders and other classes in the congregation (iv., v.) ; cautions against covetousness, and exhortations to the rich to make a good use of their means—concluding with an appeal to Timothy to guard that which was committed to his trust, and to avoid “profane babblings and oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called” (vi.).

Although in some respects on a humbler level intellectually than most of Paul's writings, and bearing traces of the writer's advancing years, this epistle contains not a few golden texts to be held in everlasting remembrance.³

¹ i. 1-4 (quoted p. 194, *note* 1).

² Acts xx. 29, 30: “I know that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock ; and from among your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them.”

³ i. 5: “But the end of the charge is love out of a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned” ; ver. 15: “Faithful is the saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners” ; ii. 3-6: “This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour ; who willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man,

Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all” ; iii. 16: “And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness ; Hewho was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory” ; vi. 6: “But godliness with contentment is great gain” ; ver. 10: “For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil : which some reaching after have been led astray from the faith, and have pierced themselves through with many sorrows” ; ver. 12: “Fight the good fight of the faith, lay hold on the life eternal, whereunto thou wast called, and didst confess the good confession in the sight of many witnesses.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

TITUS—2 TIMOTHY.

“THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO TITUS.”

1. *Authorship.*

To the general remarks already made (p. 186 *ff.*) we may add the following notes of genuineness:—

(1) The quotation made from Epimenides¹ is in accordance with the manner of St. Paul, who is the only New Testament writer that quotes *heathen* authors.² At the same time, the use of the word “*prophet*” in this passage, as compared with “*poet*” in the quotation reported in the Book of Acts, is against the supposition of imitation.

(2) The introduction of such *unknown names* as Artemas and Zenas, as well as of Nicopolis,³ which are mentioned nowhere else in the New Testament, and the *unique* designation of the apostle himself,⁴ are at variance with the idea of forgery.

2. *The Reader.*

“To Titus, my true child after a common faith.”⁵ Although Titus is never mentioned in the Book of Acts, it would appear, from the allusions made to him in Paul’s

¹ i. 12: “One of themselves, a prophet of their own, said, Cretans are alway liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons.”

² Acts xvii. 28: “For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring” (quoted from *Aratus*); 1 Cor. xv. 33: “Evil company doth corrupt good manners” (quoted from *Menander*).

³ iii. 12, 13: “When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, give diligence to come unto me to Nicopolis: for there I have determined to winter. Set forward Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them.”

⁴ i. 1: “Paul, a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ.”

⁵ i. 4.

epistles, that he was the ablest and most reliable of all the friends and coadjutors whom the apostle had about him in his later years. As an uncircumcised Gentile who had been converted by Paul, he represented in his own person the breadth and freedom of the Gospel, for which the apostle had so zealously and successfully contended.

His conversion had taken place at a comparatively early period in the apostle's ministry, for he accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their visit from Antioch to Jerusalem to vindicate the freedom of the Gentiles from the ceremonial law of the Jews.¹ We find him figuring prominently at another crisis in the apostle's ministry, when the strife and confusion in the Corinthian Church threatened to destroy St. Paul's influence. His remarkable success in the difficult mission then assigned to him (pp. 115-6), which called for the exercise of combined firmness and tact, and from which Apollos appears to have shrunk,² marked him out as an able and trustworthy delegate, and explains his selection ten years later for the important and difficult position which he temporarily held in Crete when this letter was addressed to him.³

Of the state of the Church in Crete we know very little except what may be gathered from this epistle. In all probability the Gospel had been first brought to the island by those of its inhabitants who witnessed the outpouring of the spirit on the day of Pentecost.⁴ More than thirty years had passed since then, and there were now,

¹ Gal. ii. 1-4: "Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up by revelation; and I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately before them who were of repute, lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain. But not even Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of the false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which

we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."

² 1 Cor. xvi. 12: "But as touching Apollos the brother, I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren: and it was not at all his will to come now; but he will come when he shall have opportunity."

³ In the subsequent history of the island, Titus has figured prominently as the patron-saint of the community.

⁴ Acts ii. 11: "Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God."

probably, quite a number of congregations in the island, which was 140 miles long and was famous for its hundred cities.

Paul had been there once before, on his way from Cæsarea to Rome; but being a prisoner at the time he could have had little or no opportunity of preaching. It may have been on that occasion, however, that he saw the necessity for organising the various congregations, as he was now seeking to do through the instrumentality of Titus. It was a difficult task, for the Cretans bore a bad character. "Liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons," was the description which had been given of them long before by "one of themselves"¹—a testimony confirmed by several other ancient writers. They were a mixed population of Greeks and Asiatics, with a considerable infusion of Jews. To the influence of these latter, acting on native superstition, the corruption of Christian doctrine, of which we hear in the epistle, appears to have been largely due.²

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

The striking resemblance of this epistle to 1 Timothy justifies us in assigning it to the same year—say 67 A.D. It may have been written in Asia Minor when the apostle was on his way to Nicopolis.

4. *Character and Contents.*

Although addressed to a friend, this letter, like 1 Timothy, has to a certain extent an official character. This is evident from the greeting: "Paul, a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ. . . ."³ It was intended to furnish Titus, as the apostle's representative in Crete, with the same assistance in his work as had already been rendered to Timothy. It would appear that the apostle had heard of opposition being offered to Titus,

¹ Epimenides, 600 B.C.

³ i. 1-4.

² i. 10, 14; iii. 9 (quoted p. 190, note 3).

and desired to strengthen his hands for his arduous undertaking.¹ With this view he gives him directions for the appointment of properly qualified presbyters in every city,² who should be able and willing to teach "the sound doctrine," and to counteract the useless and unwarrantable speculations of a semi-Jewish character, involving endless controversy, which were propagated by dishonest self-seeking teachers. He also reminds Titus of suitable exhortations to be addressed to the various classes in the Church, for the promotion of that practical godliness which ought to accompany sound doctrine. Titus himself is admonished to show himself in all things "an ensample of good works."³

The epistle contains a number of memorable sayings, including some of the most comprehensive statements of Christian truth to be found in the New Testament.⁴ In the former of the two passages quoted below we have an excellent illustration of the "doctrine which is according to godliness," that sober-minded union of faith and practice, which is the ripest fruit of Christianity, and which forms the chief burden of this most salutary letter.⁵

¹ i. 5: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that were wanting, and appoint elders in every city, as I gave thee charge"; vers. 10, 11: "For there are many unruly men, vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped."

² It is remarkable that in this epistle there is no mention of the other class of office-bearers, the deacons, who figure so largely in 1 Timothy. This would be unaccountable if the two epistles were cunningly devised forgeries proceeding from the same hand in the interests of ecclesiastical order.

³ ii. 7.

⁴ ii. 11-14: "For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from

all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works"; iii. 4-7: "But when the kindness of God our Saviour, and his love toward man, appeared, not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to his mercy he saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured out upon us richly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that, being justified by his grace, we might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."

⁵ Luther said of it: "This is a short epistle, but yet such a quintessence of Christian doctrine, and composed in such a masterly manner, that it contains all that is needful for Christian knowledge and life." Most of the characteristic expressions of the Pastoral Epistles are to be found in this short letter—*e.g.* "godliness" (*εὐσέβεια*), to describe the Christian manner of life, occurring ten times in these epistles and five times in the rest of the New Testament; "the faith" (*ἡ πίστις*) in a doctrinal sense (*cf.*

The epistle concludes with some allusions to personal matters, in the course of which Paul bids Titus come to him at Nicopolis as soon as Artemas or Tychicus has arrived to relieve him.¹ This is scarcely consistent with the view maintained by some Episcopalian writers that Titus held a permanent official position in the island.

"THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
TIMOTHY."

I. *Authorship.*

In several passages this epistle bears the stamp of genuineness as a writing of St. Paul.² In particular, the *opening*

"the deposit," παραθήκη of 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 14; "our Saviour" (ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν), more frequent in these epistles than in all the rest of the New Testament, and chiefly in Titus; "sound" or healthy (ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, λόγον ὑγιῆ, &c.), applied to doctrine, faith, speech, and in this sense more frequent in Titus than in any other book of the New Testament (cf. Titus ii. 7: ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν, "in thy doctrine incorruptness"; 1 Tim. vi. 4: νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεως, "doting about questionings"; 2 Tim. ii. 17: ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν ὡς γὰγγραινα νομὴν ἔξει, "their word will eat as doth a gangrene"); "sober-minded" (σώφρων—in various forms) occurring chiefly in these epistles and mostly in Titus; "good works" (καλῶν ἔργων) peculiar to Titus, in which it occurs six times, while the word καλός is used by St. Paul no less than seventeen times in 1 Timothy, and only sixteen times in all his other epistles.

1 iii. 12-15.

² i. 5-18: "having been reminded of the unfeigned faith that is in thee; which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice; and, I am persuaded, in thee also. For the which cause I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my hands. For God gave us not a spirit of fearfulness; but of power and love and discipline. Be not ashamed therefore

of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner: but suffer hardship with the gospel according to the power of God; who saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but hath now been manifested by the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus, who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel, whereunto I was appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher. For the which cause I suffer also these things: yet I am not ashamed; for I know him whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to guard that which I have committed unto him against that day. Hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee guard through the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us. This thou knowest, that all that are in Asia turned away from me; of whom are Phygelus and Hermogenes. The Lord grant mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus: for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain; but, when he was in Rome, he sought me diligently, and found me (the Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day); and in how many things he ministered at Ephesus, thou knowest very well"; iv. 9-22: "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me: for

*thanksgiving*¹ is characteristic of Paul, eight of his other letters having a similar commencement, which is not to be found in any of the other epistles of the New Testament. At the same time, this is not such a prominent feature as to lead to imitation; and, as a matter of fact, it is not found in the two other Pastoral Epistles.²

A strong proof of genuineness is afforded by the *proper names* (of Church-members) in the epistle. They are twenty-three in number, including ten mentioned elsewhere, exclusive of Paul and Timothy. In connection with several of these ten remarks are made which a forger would have been very unlikely to invent. For example, "Demas forsook me, having loved this present world,"³ is more like what we should have expected to find related of Mark, in view of his former desertion of Paul;⁴ whereas we find favourable mention of him in this epistle.⁵ Dalmatia is also a strange place to have invented as a destination for Titus,⁶ considering that he had been written to so recently at Crete—although it fits in with the summons to Nicopolis which had been previously addressed to him.⁷ A striking argument has been derived from the occurrence of the

Demas forsook me, having loved this present world, and went to Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is useful to me for ministering. But Tychicus I sent to Ephesus. The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, bring when thou comest, and the books, especially the parchments. Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord will render to him according to his works: of whom be thou ware also; for he greatly withstood our words. At my first defence no one took my part, but all forsook me: may it not be laid to their account. But the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me; that through me the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear: and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the house of Onesiphorus. Erastus abode

at Corinth: but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick. Do thy diligence to come before winter. Eubulus saluteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia and all the brethren. The Lord be with thy spirit. Grace be with you."

¹ i. 3: "I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers in a pure conscience, how unceasing is my remembrance of thee in my supplications, night and day longing to see thee."

² Galatians and 2 Corinthians are also exceptions. The latter begins with an ascription of praise (i. 3, 4), but without reference to any matter for thankfulness in the spiritual life of the readers.

³ iv. 10; cf. Col. iv. 14: "Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas salute you."

⁴ Acts xiii. 13 "and John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem."

⁵ iv. 11 (quoted above).

⁶ iv. 10 (quoted above).

⁷ Titus iii. 12: "give diligence to come unto me to Nicopolis: for there I have determined to winter."

name *Linus* in the closing salutations.¹ The argument is based on the fact that Linus, Cletus, and Clement are the names of the first three "bishops" of the Church of Rome, preserved in her Eucharistic Service, dating from the second century. If the epistle had been written in the post-apostolic age, Linus, it is held, would have been sure to receive a more prominent place in the list of salutations, and his name would have been accompanied with that of Cletus, or at all events with that of Clement, as the latter was believed to have been an immediate disciple of Paul.²

Altogether, the personal details contained in this epistle, especially in its closing chapter, are so unusually abundant, that it would have been comparatively easy of detection if it had been a forgery. As it is, the marks of genuineness are so numerous and striking, and there is such a tone of sincerity and earnestness running through the whole epistle, that it is accepted by many critics who reject its two companions. But as the main objections to the latter, on the score of their novel language and teaching, and their want of correspondence with the Book of Acts, apply equally to 2 Timothy, it is generally admitted that the three epistles must stand or fall together. Hence any argument for the Pauline authorship of this epistle has a reflex influence on that of the two others.

2. *The Reader.*

"To Timothy, my beloved child."³ (See p. 192.)

¹ iv. 21 (quoted on previous page).

² The closing salutations from "Eubulus, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren" present a seeming inconsistency with the statement in iv. 11: "Only Luke is with me," which a forger would have taken care to avoid. But on a closer view we see that the context in the latter case relates only to Paul's missionary associates. The omission in this passage of any reference to Aristarchus shows that the writer was not taking his cue from the Acts, or the

Epistles of the Imprisonment (Acts xix. 29; xx. 4; xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10; Philemon, ver. 24). Perhaps Aristarchus' death may account for the silence regarding him. It is also worthy of notice that greeting is sent to "the house of Onesiphorus" (iv. 19), not to Onesiphorus himself, which falls in with i. 16-18 (see p. 203, note 1), on the supposition that Onesiphorus had recently died, or was on his way to the East. Some such explanation a forger would have been pretty sure to offer.

³ i. 2.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

From expressions in the epistle,¹ it is evident that it was written by Paul while a prisoner at Rome. That it was a *different imprisonment* from that mentioned in the Book of Acts may be inferred from the general considerations already adduced (p. 187), and more particularly from the apostle's anticipation of a fatal result as compared with his expectation of release in Philippians and Philemon.² There are several other circumstances, however, which lead us to the same conclusion. (1) The difference between Paul's position during his first imprisonment,³ and at the time he wrote this epistle.⁴ (2) The absence of Timothy, Demas, and Mark,⁵ of whom the first-named is associated with the apostle in the epistles to Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, and the two latter are mentioned in Colossians as sending salutations.⁶ (3) The statement in this epistle, "Erastus abode at Corinth; but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick."⁷ For in the apostle's last recorded journey to Jerusalem Trophimus was not left at Miletus, but went

¹ i. 8: "Be not ashamed therefore of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner: but suffer hardship with the gospel according to the power of God"; 15-18: "This thou knowest, that all that are in Asia turned away from me; of whom are Phygelus and Hermogenes. The Lord grant mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus: for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain; but, when he was in Rome, he sought me diligently, and found me (the Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day); and in how many things he ministered at Ephesus, thou knowest very well."

² iv. 6-8: "For I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day: and not only to me, but also to all them that have loved his appearing."

³ Acts xxviii. 30, 31: "And he abode

two whole years in his own hired dwelling, and received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him"; Phil. i. 12-14: "Now I would have you know, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the progress of the gospel; so that my bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole prætorian guard, and to all the rest; and that most of the brethren in the Lord, being confident through my bonds, are more abundantly bold to speak the word of God without fear."

⁴ ii. 9: "wherein I suffer hardship unto bonds, as a malefactor; but the word of God is not bound"; i. 15-17 (quoted above, note 1); iv. 16: "At my first defence no one took my part, but all forsook me: may it not be laid to their account."

⁵ P. 202, note 2.

⁶ Col. iv. 10, 14.

⁷ iv. 20.

with the apostle all the way to Jerusalem;¹ and as for Erastus' stay in Corinth, we know that Timothy was one of Paul's companions² during the same journey, after the apostle's last recorded visit to Greece, and could not have required to be informed that "Erastus abode in Corinth," if that had been the occasion referred to. In his subsequent voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, as recorded in the closing chapters of Acts, it is certain that the apostle visited neither Miletus nor Corinth. (4) The request here made to Timothy: "The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, bring when thou comest, and the books, especially the parchments."³ For there was an interval of several years between Paul's last recorded visit to Troas and his first imprisonment at Rome. A subsequent visit, however, after his release, would fit in with the fresh journey from Miletus to Corinth which seems to be implied in the remark above made (3).

We may add that a second imprisonment was in itself not at all unlikely after the great fire in 64 A.D., when the Christian religion was put under the ban; and the apostle had no lack of enemies to give information against him.⁴ If we are right in dating the first epistle 67 A.D., we may assign this one to 67-68 A.D.

4. *Character and Contents.*

We have here the apostle's last will and testament in

¹ Acts xx. 1-4: "... And when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And when he had spent three months there, and a plot was laid against him by the Jews, as he was about to set sail for Syria, he determined to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him as far as Asia Sopater of Berea, ... and Timothy; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus"; ver. 15: "and the day after we came to Miletus"; xxi. 29: "For they had before seen with him in the city (*i.e.* Jerusalem) Trophimus the Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple."

² Acts xx. 1-4 (see previous note).

³ iv. 13. From this passage Farrar infers

that it was at Troas Paul was arrested before being carried a prisoner for the second time to Rome, and that it was during his detention at Ephesus, after his arrest, that he experienced the kindness of Onesiphorus to which he alludes in 2 Tim. i. 18. The same writer also draws an interesting parallel between this request of the apostle for his cloke, books, and parchments, and that of our English martyr, William Tyndale, when, writing from his prison at Vilvoorde, he begs that if he is to remain there for the winter, he may have some warmer clothes sent him, and also his "Hebrew Bible, grammar, and vocabulary."

⁴ *E.g.* iv. 14: "Alexander the copiersmith did me much evil."

favour of the Church, in the form of a *farewell charge* to his beloved child Timothy. He still hoped to see him once again, and repeatedly urges him to do his best to come to him shortly—"before winter," while navigation is still practicable.¹ His yearning for Timothy's society in his lonely prison reminds us of our Lord's desire for the sympathy and prayers of His disciples on the eve of His Passion; and in this epistle, as in our Lord's teaching during the week preceding His death, there is blended with a sublime confidence in the speaker's own future, dark foreboding of approaching trial and temptation for the Church. He warns Timothy of the "grievous times" to come,² and exhorts him to adhere steadfastly to the teaching he had received from the apostle on the foundation of the Scripture "inspired of God," and to take security for such teaching being continued by "faithful men who shall be able to teach others also"—bidding Timothy emulate his own example in the endurance of hardship and in the practice of self-denial for the sake of the Gospel.

A peculiarity of this as of the other Pastoral Epistles is the introduction of short and weighty statements with the words, "Faithful is the saying." In one of these passages we have what is probably part of a Christian hymn, expressing the faith in which the apostle would have Timothy to meet his trials.³

¹ iv. 9, 21: "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me. . . . Do thy diligence to come before winter."

² iii. 1.

³ ii. 11-13: "Faithful is the saying: For if we died with him, we shall also

live with him: if we endure, we shall also reign with him: if we shall deny him, he also will deny us: if we are faithless, he abideth faithful; for he cannot deny himself."

CHAPTER XIX.

"THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE HEBREWS."

I. *Authorship.*

THE authorship of this epistle cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.¹ The earliest witness on the subject is Pantænus of Alexandria, in the latter half of the second century, who assigned the epistle, as Eusebius tells us, to the apostle Paul. In keeping with this opinion we find that the *Eastern* Church generally regarded it as the work of Paul; but some of the most learned of its bishops and teachers were constrained by internal evidence to depart somewhat from the traditional view. Their idea was that Paul might have written the original, and one of his disciples have translated it into Greek;² or that the apostle might have supplied the thoughts, and some disciple have put them into words. In this sense Origen maintains that the thoughts were worthy of the apostle, but "who it was that wrote the epistle, God only knows certainly."³

The opinion of the *Western* Church was for a long time

¹ In this connection Prof. Bruce remarks: "It seems fitting that the author of an epistle which begins by virtually proclaiming God as the only speaker in Scripture, and Jesus Christ as the one speaker in the New Testament, should himself retire out of sight into the background" (*Expositor* 1888).

² This is the view taken by Clement of Alexandria, who says that Paul wrote the epistle in Hebrew and that it was translated by Luke.

³ "If I were to express my own opinion I should say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the diction and composition that of some one who re-

corded from memory the apostle's teaching, and, as it were, illustrated with a brief commentary the sayings of his master. If then any church hold this epistle to be Paul's, let it be approved for so doing; for it was not without good reason that the men of old times have handed it down as Paul's. But who it was that wrote the epistle, God only knows certainly. The account which has reached us is two-fold, some saying that Clement, who became Bishop of Rome, wrote it, while others assign it to Luke the author of the Gospel and the Acts." (*Euseb. H.E.* vi. 25).

adverse to the Pauline authorship. Clement of Rome, who wrote before the close of the first century, frequently quotes the epistle, but never claims for it the authority of Paul. If he believed that the epistle was written by Paul, it is difficult to account for the ignorance of the Roman Church on the subject in succeeding generations—all the more so because of the connection of the epistle with Italy.¹ It was not till the close of the fourth century, and in spite of its traditions to the contrary, that the Western Church accepted the epistle as a writing of Paul's.²

Even if the external testimony in favour of the Pauline authorship were much stronger than it is, a study of the style and structure of the book would compel us to adopt a different view. Instead of the rugged, impetuous, and occasionally disjointed style of the apostle, we have here polished diction and carefully - constructed sentences. "The movement of this writer resembles that of an oriental sheikh with his robes of honour wrapped around him; the movement of St. Paul is that of an athlete girded for the race. The eloquence of this writer, even when it is at its most majestic volume, resembles the flow of a river; the rhetoric of St. Paul is like the rush of a mountain torrent amid opposing rocks."³ In addition to this general dissimilarity of style, there are so many well-marked differences in detail, that the idea that Paul wrote this epistle has now been generally abandoned. (1) There is a marked absence of the opening salutation and thanksgiving

¹ xiii. 24: "They of Italy salute you."

² At the fifth Council of Carthage (419 A.D.), this epistle was classed along with the rest of Paul's epistles: "Of the epistles of Paul in number fourteen." But a little earlier, at the third Council of Carthage (397 A.D.), and the Council of Hippo (393 A.D.), a distinction is made between them: "Of the Apostle Paul thirteen epistles: of the same to the Hebrews one." Hence the position assigned to this epistle in our copy of the New Testament. "But the earliest order of all, concerning which we have information, is that of

the archetype from which the Vatican MS. was copied. In the Vatican MS. itself, and in other Eastern MSS. this epistle comes after that to the Thessalonians, and before the letters to individuals; but the numbering of the sections shows that the Vatican MS. was copied from one in which the Hebrews stood still higher in the rank of the Pauline Epistles, and came next after that to the Galatians. The Thebaic Version placed it even a step higher, viz., immediately before the Epistle to the Galatians" (Salmon).

³ Farrar, *Messages of the Books*.

usual with St. Paul. (2) There is an acknowledgment on the part of the writer that he and his readers were indebted in some measure for their knowledge of the Gospel to "them that heard" the Lord,¹ whereas Paul repudiated for himself any such dependence on the testimony of others.² (3) In quoting from the Old Testament the writer of this epistle makes use of phrases that are not found in St. Paul's writings.³ (4) He invariably quotes from the Septuagint in the Alexandrian text, without regard to the Hebrew; whereas Paul often corrects the Septuagint by the Hebrew, and, when he quotes from the Greek version, follows the text found in the Vatican MS. (5) He never designates the Saviour as "our Lord Jesus Christ" or "Christ Jesus our Lord"—expressions which occur nearly seventy times in Paul's epistles—but generally speaks of Him as "Jesus," or "Christ," or "the Lord." (6) Greek particles of frequent occurrence in Paul's writings are entirely absent from this epistle; while some are found here that are never used by Paul.⁴ With regard to the conjecture made by Clement of Alexandria, that the epistle, in its present form, may be the translation of a Hebrew work of the apostle, internal evidence is decisive against it. Not only is the composition possessed of such a rhetorical grace and finish as is scarcely attainable in a translation, but in several other respects it bears unmistakable tokens of having been originally written in Greek. It has numerous plays on Greek words,⁵ and contains expressions that have no

¹ ii. 3, 4: "how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? which having at the first been spoken through the Lord, was confirmed unto us by them that heard; God also bearing witness with them, both by signs and wonders, and by manifold powers, and by gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will."

² Gal. i. 11-17: "For I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it,

but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ. . . ."

³ E.g. "God saith," "the Holy Spirit saith," "he testifieth" (*passim*).

⁴ Of the former are, *εἴτε, ποτε, εἴτα, εἴπερ*; of the latter, *ὅθεν, ἐάνπερ*.

⁵ E.g. i. 1: Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως: v. 14: πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ: vii. 3: ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος: xi. 27: τὸν γὰρ ὁράτον ὡς ὁρῶν ἐκατέρησε; xiii. 14: . . . μένουσαν . . . μέλλουσαν . . . &c., &c.

equivalent in Hebrew;¹ it also makes its Old Testament quotations direct from the Septuagint, in some cases even building an argument on forms of expression which do not occur in the Hebrew text.² But although we cannot assign the epistle to St. Paul, this need not impair our sense of its value as an acknowledged portion of the New Testament. Its value is independent of its human authorship. "If it should be found that a noble picture which had been attributed to Raphael was not by that artist, there would not be one masterpiece the less, but one great master the more."³

While the evidence is conclusive against the epistle having been written by Paul, there is yet reason to believe that it was the work of *one of his school*. The writer appears to have been acquainted with some of Paul's epistles;⁴ and he uses many words which are found no-

¹ E.g. διαθήκη, in the sense not only of *covenant*, but also of *testament* (ix. 15, 16, R.V.), which latter meaning does not belong to the Hebrew word בְּרִית. Calvin regarded this one instance as a conclusive proof that the epistle was written in Greek.

² E.g. i. 6, 7, &c., where the Septuagint translation of אֱלֹהִים ("God" or "gods") viz., ἄγγελοι ("angels") is assumed; x. 5: σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι ("but a body didst thou prepare for me"); where the original has לוֹ אָזְנוֹת בְּרִית ("mine ears hast thou opened").

³ — Thiersch.

⁴ Cf. ii. 8: "Thou didst put all things in subjection under his feet. For in that he subjected all things unto him, he left nothing that is not subject to him. But now we see not yet all things subjected to him"; and 1 Cor. xv. 27: "For, He put all things in subjection under his feet. But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that he is excepted who did subject all things unto him." ii. 10: "For it became him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory"; and Rom. xi. 36: "For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all

things. To him be the glory for ever. Amen." ii. 14: "that through death he might bring to nought (καταργήσῃ, a Pauline use of the word which also occurs in the two following passages, and is translated "abolished") him that had the power of death, that is, the devil"; 2 Tim. i. 10: "who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel"; and 1 Cor. xv. 26: "The last enemy that shall be abolished is death." v. 12-14: "... For every one that partaketh of milk is without experience of the word of righteousness; for he is a babe. But solid food is for fullgrown men, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern good and evil"; and 1 Cor. iii. 2: "I fed you with milk, not with meat; for ye were not yet able to bear it: nay, not even now are ye able," x. 30: "For we know him that said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense. And again, The Lord shall judge his people"; and Rom. xii. 19: "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord." xii. 14: "Follow after peace with all men"; and Rom. xii. 18: "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men."

where in the New Testament except in Paul's writings, or in his speeches as reported by Luke.¹ He also refers to Timothy as a personal friend—although in different terms from those used by the apostle.²

By which of Paul's friends or associates the letter was written it is difficult to say. Neither Clement nor Luke (whose names were suggested as early as the third century) can have been the author, so greatly do their styles differ from that of the epistle. Luther's conjecture that Apollos may have been the writer, is favoured by the description of the latter in the Book of Acts,³ viewed in connection with the internal characteristics of the epistle, and it has been widely accepted. But if Apollos was the writer, it is difficult to account for the complete disappearance of his name from the traditions of the Church, more especially in the East.

There is another name, in itself not at all an improbable one, for which we have the authority of Tertullian of Carthage, who wrote in the beginning of the third century. That presbyter refers to *Barnabas* as the author of the epistle, in terms which would imply that this was no new supposition;⁴ and his testimony is all the more important because he had been at one time resident in Rome and knew what was the current belief of the Church there. In

¹ E.g. *νεκρωμένος* "as good as dead" (xi. 12, and Rom. iv. 19); *ἐφάπαξ* "once" (vii. 27, &c., Rom. vi. 10, 1 Cor. xv. 6). In ii. 2, there are three such words, viz., *ἐνδικος* ("just"), *παράβασις* ("transgression"), *παρακοή* ("disobedience"). A complete list is given in the Introduction to the Epistle in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

² xiii. 23: "Know ye that our brother Timothy hath been set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you."

³ Acts xviii. 24-28: "Now a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, came to Ephesus; and he was mighty in the scriptures. This man had been instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spake and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, knowing only

the baptism of John: and he began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully. And when he was minded to pass over into Achaia, the brethren encouraged him, and wrote to the disciples to receive him: and when he was come, he helped them much which had believed through grace: for he powerfully confuted the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ."

⁴ "There is extant an epistle addressed to the Hebrews by Barnabas, a man of such authority that Paul ranked him with himself, 'I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working.'" Tertullian then quotes Heb. vi. 4-8.

many respects the name of Barnabas answers the requirements of the case. As a Jewish Christian who enjoyed the confidence of the apostles and was on intimate terms with the Church at Jerusalem, of which he had been an early benefactor ; as a Levite, familiar with the usages and customs of the Jewish sanctuary ; as a native, and frequent visitor, of Cyprus, sufficiently acquainted with Hellenistic literature to be able to preach to Hellenists, and at one time (according to an ancient tradition) a teacher, like his nephew Mark, at Alexandria,¹ with which Cyprus was closely connected ; as a good man full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, whose surname of Barnabās, “son of exhortation” (conferred on him by the apostles), marked him out as a man of great persuasive influence :—in all these respects this Church-leader was well fitted to be the writer of a “word of exhortation”²—in the Greek language and after the Alexandrian mode of thought—to the wavering and distracted Hebrews.³

2. *The Readers.*

“To the Hebrews.” We have no reason to doubt that this part of the superscription—which probably formed the whole of the original, and is of immemorial antiquity—gives a correct indication of the readers for whom the epistle was intended. The whole tenor of the epistle implies that it was written for *Jewish Christians*. But various allusions show that it was not intended merely for Hebrew Christians in general, but for *some definite community*.⁴ Which of the Hebrew communities, in particular, is addressed has been much disputed. Alexandria, Antioch,

¹ The tradition is found in the Clementine Homilies ; but according to the Recognitions, Barnabas preached at an early period in Rome.

² xiii. 22 : “But I exhort you, brethren, bear with the word of exhortation.”

³ Acts iv. 36, 37 ; ix. 26, 27 ; xi. 19-30 ; xiii. 1 ; xv. 39.

⁴ v. 11, 12 : “Of whom we have many things to say, and hard of interpreta-

tion, seeing ye are become dull of hearing. For when by reason of the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need again that some one teach you the rudiments of the first principles of the oracles of God ; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of solid food.” vi. 9, 10 : “But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though

Ephesus, Rome, have all been suggested. Something may be said for each of them,¹ especially Antioch; but from the way in which the Gentiles are entirely ignored in the epistle—the word “people,” which frequently occurs, being always used to designate the Jews²—it would seem most probable that the letter was intended for Christians in *Jerusalem* or in some other part of *Palestine*. It was only in Palestine that Churches were to be found entirely composed of Jewish Christians; and the troubles that overtook these congregations soon afterwards in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem would go far to account for the ignorance and uncertainty of the early Church as to the authorship and the original destination of this epistle—an oblivion that is otherwise difficult to explain. Moreover, it was in Palestine that the *temptations to relapse into Judaism*, against which the writer is so anxious to guard his readers, were most formidable. The sacerdotal splendour of the ancient sanctuary threw into the shade the simple forms of Christian worship; and the flames of patriotic zeal burned more fiercely in the Holy Land than among the Jews of the Dispersion. The Hebrew Christians residing there must have felt themselves more and more under the necessity of choosing between their country and their faith, between a revolt against the Romans and a patient waiting for the coming of the Saviour. Exposed to persecution and excommunication at the hands of their fanatical and exasperated country-

we thus speak: for God is not unrighteous to forget your work and the love which ye shewed toward his name, in that ye ministered unto the saints, and still do minister.” x. 32-34: “But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were enlightened, ye endured a great conflict of sufferings; partly, being made a gazingstock both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly, becoming partakers with them that were so used. For ye both had compassion on them that were in bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your possessions, knowing that ye yourselves have a better possession and an abiding one.” xiii.

7, 18, 19, 23: “Remember them that had the rule over you, which spake unto you the word of God; and considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith. . . . Pray for us: . . . And I exhort you the more exceedingly to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner. . . . Know ye that our brother Timothy hath been set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.”

¹ The language of xii. 4, however, “Ye have not yet resisted unto blood,” could hardly have been addressed to Christians at Rome after 64 A.D. Cf. p. 224, note 3.

² *laos*. vii. 5, 11, 27, &c.

men, deeply attached to the religion of their fathers and with a strong love of outward ceremonial, disappointed by the delay of the Second Coming and by the rejection of the Gospel on the part of so many of their kindred, they stood in urgent need of the consolations and the warnings which are addressed to them in this epistle.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

The only clue to guide us as to the place of writing is to be found in the message at the close of the epistle: "They of Italy salute you."¹ This may either mean that the writer was sending greetings from the Church in Italy, or from Italian Christians resident in some foreign city from which he wrote. The latter would be quite natural and intelligible if the epistle was going to some Church in Italy, whose members were receiving a special greeting from their countrymen abroad. But, as we have seen, the epistle had probably a different destination; and we may therefore conclude that it was written from some place in Italy—the more so as it informs its readers of Timothy's liberation, which took place presumably at Rome, whither he had been summoned by St. Paul in his last imprisonment.²

On this supposition the date of the epistle would be about 68 A.D., which tallies with other indications of time in the epistle. That it was written before the Fall of Jerusalem is evident not only from the allusions to the sacrificial system as still going on,³ and to the old covenant as "becoming old" and "nigh unto vanishing away,"⁴ but

¹ xiii. 24.

² xiii. 23 (quoted foot of previous page);

³ Tim. iv. 9: "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me"; ver. 21: "Do thy diligence to come before winter."

⁴ E.g. x. 1-3: "they can never with the same sacrifices year by year, which they offer continually, make perfect them that draw nigh. Else would they not have ceased to be offered, because the

worshippers, having been once cleansed, would have had no more conscience of sins?" But in those sacrifices there is a remembrance made of sins year by year."

⁴ viii. 13: "In that he saith, A new covenant, he hath made the first old. But that which is becoming old and waxeth aged is nigh unto vanishing away."

still more perhaps from the absence of any allusion to the destruction of the Temple. That event, if it had already occurred, would have rendered superfluous any other proof of the transitory and imperfect nature of the Old Testament dispensation.

4. *Its Character and Contents.*

In many respects this book has more of the character of a *treatise* than of a letter. Its great theme is the superiority of Christianity to Judaism. This superiority it proves not so much by minimising the old covenant—which Paul had been obliged to do in vindicating the freedom of his Gentile converts—as by magnifying the new in the sense of its being a fulfilment of the old.¹

The epistle may be divided into two parts, the first mainly of an *argumentative or expository* character, the second chiefly *hortatory and practical*.²

(1) In the former the writer seeks to establish the supremacy of Christ and of the Christian Dispensation. After the opening statement as to the divine revelation being completed and concentrated in the "Son," he proceeds to show His superiority to the *angels* (through whom the Law was believed to have been given), to *Moses* and to *Joshua*.³ But his main efforts are directed to proving Christ's superiority and that of His religion to the *sacerdotal system* of the Jews. He shows that Christ, while possessing in common with Aaron all the qualifica-

¹ The new is pronounced "better." Cf. vii. 19: "better hope"; viii. 6: "better promises," "better covenant"; ix. 11: "more perfect tabernacle"; ix. 23: "better sacrifices"; xi. 16: "better country," &c. The argument is a *fortiori*—hence the frequency of the expression "how much more," or its equivalents. "He treats the Temple and the High Priest with profound respect. Christianity is represented as a sublimated, completed, idealised Judaism. He dwells with loving detail on the imposing splendour of the Tabernacle, and shows us the High Priest entering the

awful darkness of the Holiest Place, and clad in the pomp of his gorgeous and jewelled robes; and then, as with one wave of the wand, sets all this aside as a symbol, a picture, a transient shadow, while he draws aside the blue curtain of the Heavens, and points to the High Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, who has passed with His own blood once for all into a Tabernacle not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."—Farrar, *Messages of the Books*, p. 439.

² (1) i.—x. 18; (2) x. 19—xiii.

³ i. 3—ii.; iii.; iv.

tions of a true priest, belongs to a *higher order* of priesthood, represented not by Aaron but by Melchizedek.¹ In the story of the meeting of Melchizedek with Abraham and the prophetic allusions to the former, he finds many reasons of an allegorical nature to justify this view.² He represents the Head of the Christian Church as the possessor of an unchangeable priesthood, secured by the divine oath—not transitory, but permanent—exercised not on earth but in heaven—constituted “not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.” A similar superiority is proved to belong to the Christian *Dispensation*, with its law written on the heart, and its sacrifice offered “once for all” in a “tabernacle not made with hands,” whereby Christ hath “through his own blood” “obtained eternal redemption.”³

(2) In the course of the argument occasional exhortations and warnings are introduced.⁴ But *the practical application*

¹ v.—vii.

² Gen. xiv. 18-20: “And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was priest of God Most High. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be God Most High, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him a tenth of all.” Ps. cx. 4: “The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.” This is all the information regarding Melchizedek that we find in the Old Testament. The remarkable significance attached to it in this epistle (chaps. v.—vii.) is an evidence that the writer belonged to the Alexandrian school of thought, and had been influenced by the writings of Philo. In many other passages a resemblance can be traced not only to the writings of Philo, but also to the Book of Wisdom. One of the leading traits of the epistle is “that philosophy of ideas which Philo borrowed from Plato. The key-note of the reasoning of the epistle is found in the quotation, ‘See thou make all things after the pattern shewed thee in the mount.’ He regarded the visible world as only the shadow of the invisible. To him

the reality of all phenomena depended exclusively on the unseen, pre-existent, eternal Noumena.” Cf. viii. 5: “who serve that which is a copy and shadow of the heavenly things, even as Moses is warned of God when he is about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern that was shewed thee in the mount”; ix. 23, 24: “It was necessary therefore that the copies of the things in the heavens should be cleansed with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Christ entered not into a holy place made with hands, like in pattern to the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear before the face of God for us,” &c.

³ viii.—x. 18.

⁴ ii. 1-4: “Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things that were heard, lest haply we drift away from them. For if the word spoken through angels proved stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation”? iii. 7-13: “. . . Take heed, brethren, lest haply there shall be in any one of you an evil heart of unbelief, in falling away from the living God: but exhort one another day by day, so long

is mainly reserved for the concluding chapters. After exhorting his readers to avail themselves of the "new and living way" which has been thus consecrated for them into "the holy place," and warning them against the terrible consequences of apostasy,¹ he comforts their hearts with the assurance that though they may be disowned by the sacerdotal leaders at Jerusalem, they are in the true line of fellowship with the saints and holy men of old, whose devotion had been shown, not by the observance of an outward ceremonial, but by *faith in the unseen*.² In the next chapter, after exhorting them to patience under their trials through the sustaining power of God's fatherly love, he introduces a striking contrast between the terrors of Sinai and the attractive glories of Mount Zion.³ In the

as it is called To-day; lest any one of you be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin"; iv. 11-16: "Let us therefore give diligence to enter into that rest, that no man fall after the same example of disobedience. . . . Having then a great high priest, who hath passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our confession. For we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore draw near with boldness unto the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy, and may find grace to help us in time of need"; vi.: "Wherefore let us cease to speak of the first principles of Christ, and press on unto perfection; not laying again a foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the teaching of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgement. . . ."

¹ x. 26-31: "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgement, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot

the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? . . ." Cf. vi. 4-8. The stern condemnation which is here pronounced on those who abuse their Christian privileges, and are guilty of disloyalty to Christ, lent an appearance of Scriptural authority to the intolerance of the Montanists and Novatians of the second and third centuries, when they refused to re-admit those who had been guilty of deadly sin. But the language of the epistle is used in a spiritual, not in an ecclesiastical sense.

² x. 19—xi.

³ xii. 18-24: "For ye are not come unto a mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, and unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words; which voice they that heard intreated that no word more should be spoken unto them: for they could not endure that which was enjoined, If even a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned; and so fearful was the appearance, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake: but ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made

last chapter he gives a number of salutary counsels and admonitions, in the course of which he calls upon his readers to go forth unto Jesus "without the camp, bearing his reproach," as Jesus Himself "suffered without the gate." He exhorts them to offer the sacrifices of praise and well-doing which are required of the Christian, and bids them render obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors.¹ The epistle concludes with a request for their prayers on behalf of the writer, that he "may be restored to (them) the sooner," followed by a beautiful benediction, and a few last words of personal explanation and greeting.²

perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel."

¹ xiii. 15-17: "Through him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name. But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit to them: for they watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account; that they may do this with joy, and not with grief: for this were unprofitable for you."

² xiii. 18, 19 (quoted on page 212);

20-25: "Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep with the blood of the eternal covenant, even our Lord Jesus, make you perfect in every good thing to do his will, working in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. But I exhort you, brethren, bear with the word of exhortation: for I have written unto you in few words. Know ye that our brother Timothy hath been set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you. Grace be with you all. Amen."

CHAPTER XX.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

THERE are seven epistles which from the fourth century have gone under the name of the *Catholic* (or *General*) Epistles, viz. James; 1 and 2 Peter; 1, 2, 3 John; and Jude.¹ They were so called in contradistinction to Paul's epistles, which, with the exception of the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon, appeared to be addressed to *individual Churches*, also seven in number. In most of the Greek MSS. the Catholic epistles stand next to the Book of Acts, although they were much later than the epistles of Paul in obtaining general recognition in the Church.²

"THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JAMES."³

1. *Authorship.*

In common with four other of the Catholic epistles, viz., 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, this epistle is described by Eusebius (about 325 A.D.) as a disputed book of the New Testament, in the sense of not being universally acknowledged by the Church.

¹ "In this sense the term was first applied by Origen to the First Epistle of Peter and the First Epistle of John. Afterwards, but before the time of Eusebius, it was used to denote the whole seven Epistles as being descriptive of their nature, the Second and Third Epistles of John being considered as an appendix to the First. In process of time it became a technical term, used to designate that group of Epistles as distinguished from the other three groups of writings in the New Testament, namely, the Gospels and the

Acts, the Pauline Epistles, including the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, and thus lost, in a measure, its primary meaning."—Gloag on *The Catholic Epistles*, p. 7.

² The position of this book in the list of the Catholic Epistles is attributed by Bede to the primacy of James in the early Church of Jerusalem, and to his connection with the Twelve Tribes, who were the first to receive the Gospel.

³ The Hebrew original of the name is Jacob.

In the fourth century the claims of these and other writings to a place in the New Testament Canon were carefully sifted, the result being to vindicate the character of each of the disputed epistles (as appears from the Decrees of the Council of Laodicea, 364 A.D., and of Carthage, 397 A.D.), while a number of other books which, although not in the New Testament, had been read in church along with them were finally disallowed. (See Chap. i. *Note* on Canon.)

With regard to the Epistle of James in particular, the rarity of allusions to it in the early Christian writers may be accounted for by its circulation being confined to Jewish Christians, as well as by the narrow sphere of labour in which the writer himself moved, his life apparently having been entirely spent in Jerusalem. Although we do not find it expressly quoted by any writer earlier than Origen,¹ yet the language of Clement of Rome, and still more clearly of Hermas, and probably also of Irenæus,² would lead us to believe that it was known to these writers. Still more significant is the fact that it has a place in the ancient Syriac Version, and was acknowledged by Ephraem Syrus.

The internal evidence of the book is strongly in its favour, and it is now generally admitted to be a genuine work of "James, the Lord's brother,"³ who presided for many years over the Church at Jerusalem. (1) The writer's modest designation of himself—"James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ"⁴ is against the idea of forgery. (2) The epistle was evidently written for Jewish Christians by one of themselves. Although written in comparatively pure Greek,⁵ its literary character as a whole is essentially Hebrew, reminding us of the Book of Proverbs and other Jewish writings; it speaks of Abraham as "our

¹ His mode of citation (*ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ ἱακώβου ἐπιστολῇ*) would seem to indicate that he was aware of some uncertainty attaching to its authorship.

² He reproduces verbatim James ii. 23, which combines Gen. xv. 26 and 2 Chron. xx. 7 (or Is. xli. 8).

³ Gal. i. 19: "But other of the

apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."

⁴ i. 1.

⁵ Owing, it may be, to our Epistle being the translation of an Aramaic original by a competent Greek scholar acting under the direction of James.

father"; it calls the readers' place of worship "your synagogue"; it calls God "the Lord of Sabaoth"; it takes for granted an acquaintance with Old Testament characters; it alludes to Jewish forms of oath; it refers to "the law" as still binding; and it contains no allusions to those sins of the flesh which figure so prominently in epistles designed for Gentile readers.¹ (3) It bears traces of having been written by a native of Palestine—in its allusions to "the scorching wind," the sea, "sweet water and bitter" (the latter referring to the brackish springs of the country); the vine, olive, and fig; "the early and latter rain."² (4) It shows a familiar acquaintance with Christ's teaching, although its language is not such as to betray an imita-

¹ ii. 21: "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, in that he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar"; ii. 2: "For if there come into your synagogue a man with a gold ring, in fine clothing, and there come in also a poor man in vile clothing"; v. 4: "Behold, the hire of the labourers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out: and the cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth"; ii. 25: "And in like manner was not also Rahab the harlot justified by works, in that she received the messengers, and sent them out another way"; v. 10, 11, 17: "Take, brethren, for an example of suffering and of patience, the prophets who spake in the name of the Lord. Behold, we call them blessed which endured: ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord, how that the Lord is full of pity, and merciful. . . . Elijah was a man of like passions with us, and he prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months"; v. 12: "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; that ye fall not under judgement"; ii. 8-11: "Howbeit if ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin, being convicted by

the law as transgressors. For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet stumble in one point, he is become guilty of all. For he that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou dost not commit adultery, but killest, thou art become a transgressor of the law"; iv. 11: "Speak not one against another, brethren. He that speaketh against a brother, or judgeth his brother, speaketh against the law, and judgeth the law: but if thou judgest the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge."

² i. 11: "For the sun ariseth with the scorching wind, and withereth the grass; and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his goings"; i. 6: "But let him ask in faith, nothing doubting: for he that doubteth is like the surge of the sea driven by the wind and tossed"; iii. 4: "Behold, the ships also, though they are so great, and are driven by rough winds, are yet turned about by a very small rudder, whither the impulse of the steersman willet"; iii. 11, 12: "Doth the fountain send forth from the same opening sweet water and bitter? can a fig tree, my brethren, yield olives, or a vine figs? neither can salt water yield sweet"; v. 7: "Be patient therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, being patient over it, until it receive the early and latter rain."

tion of our Gospels.¹ (5) It reflects a state of Jewish society—the rich oppressing the poor²—which is described by Josephus and other Jewish writers as prevailing in the period succeeding the death of our Lord,³ but which in a great measure ceased to exist after the rebellion that terminated in the Destruction of Jerusalem.

With regard to the author's personal history the following points may be noted. He and his brothers Joses, Simon, and Jude, were either the children of Joseph and Mary, and younger brothers of our Lord, or else they were the children of Joseph by a former marriage.⁴ The latter

¹ i. 5, 6: "But if any of you lacketh wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing doubting"; cf. Matt. vii. 7, 8: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened"; Mark xi. 23: "Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that what he saith cometh to pass; he shall have it." i. 25: "But he that looketh into the perfect law, the law of liberty, and so continueth, being not a hearer that forgetteth, but a doer that worketh, this man shall be blessed in his doing"; cf. John xiii. 17: "If ye know these things, blessed are ye if ye do them." ii. 5: "Hearken, my beloved brethren; did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him"; cf. Luke vi. 20: "And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God." iv. 9: "Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to heaviness"; cf. Luke vi. 25: "Woe unto you, ye that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep." iv. 10: "Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall exalt you"; cf. Matt. xxiii. 12: "And whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted"; Compare p. 226, note 1. Dr Salmon suggests that "a great deal more of James' epistle may be founded on say-

ings of our Lord than we have now the means of identifying; and, in particular, that what is said of our Lord's promise (i. 12) of 'a crown of life,' may refer to an unrecorded saying of the Saviour." He also points out the difference in this respect between the writings of James and those of Paul, who had not been a personal follower of our Lord during His earthly ministry. "Everywhere the language of the epistle recalls the language of our Lord. The style also is similar; the brief, compressed sayings, and the frequent use of figure (see i. 6, 11, 17, 23; iii. 3, 4, 5-12). This would seem to argue that the James who wrote the letter was a contemporary and friend of Jesus."—Dod's *Introduction*.

² ii. 6, 7 (quoted p. 224, note 3); v. 1-6 (quoted p. 224, note 4).

³ "The pride and luxury of the rich Sadducean party were at their height. They filled the high offices of the priesthood, which they had simoniacally purchased with money. They tyrannized over the poor. Josephus tells how the high priests sent their servants to the threshing-floors to take away the tithes that by right belonged to the poorer priests, beating those who refused to give them, and that some of the poorer priests, thus defrauded of their maintenance, actually died of want" (Ant. xx., viii. 8, ix. 2).—Salmon.

⁴ Matt. xiii. 55: "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas?" Mark vi. 3: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us? And they were offended in him."

supposition seems the more probable, both because it is in harmony with the earliest traditions of antiquity, and because it helps to explain the attitude of James and his brothers towards Jesus during His lifetime, and the committal of Mary to the keeping, not of her stepsons, but of the apostle John.¹ We find that at an advanced period in our Lord's ministry His brethren did not believe in Him; but immediately after the Ascension they are associated with the disciples in the upper room.²

According to a tradition, which we have no reason to disbelieve, their conversion was due to the appearance of the risen Lord to James, which is mentioned by the apostle Paul.³ Among the Christians at Jerusalem James soon took a prominent place, being, indeed, the recognised head of the Church there after the death of James the brother of John (44 A.D.) and the dispersion of the other apostles.⁴ This commanding position he owed partly to the special relation in which he stood to Jesus, and partly to his own high character, which procured for him the name of the *Just* (or *Righteous*) and *Oblias* ("the bulwark of the people"). He is said to have been a Nazarite, and so much given to prayer in the Temple that his knees had grown hard like those of a camel. He was essentially a Hebrew of the Hebrews, who clung to the law and the prophets, and valued the Gospel as their fulfilment. Hence his name

¹ Matt. xii. 46: "While he was yet speaking to the multitudes, behold, his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak to him." John vii. 3-5: "His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judæa, that thy disciples also may behold thy works which thou doest. For no man doeth anything in secret, and himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou doest these things, manifest thyself to the world. For even his brethren did not believe on him." John xix. 26: "When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold, thy son!"

² John vii. 5 (quoted above); Acts i. 14: "These all with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer, with the

women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren."

³ 1 Cor. xv. 7: "Then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles."

⁴ Cf. Acts xii. 17: "But he (*i.e.* Peter), beckoning unto them with the hand to hold their peace, declared unto them how the Lord had brought him forth out of the prison. And he said, Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren"; Acts xv. 13, 14: "And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Brethren, hearken unto me," &c.; Acts xxi. 17, 18: "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present."

was sometimes used by the Judaising party in opposition to Paul¹—as it was long after his death in the ecclesiastical romance contained in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. James himself recognised Paul as the apostle of the Gentiles, and did not insist on a full observance of the law by Gentile converts,² and in this epistle it is “the perfect law, the law of liberty,” he inculcates—“the royal law, according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”³ He died a death of martyrdom, stoned by the Jews—as Josephus and Hegeppus relate—shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, for his testimony to Jesus as the Messiah.

2. *The Readers.*

“To the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion.”⁴ In view of the Jewish traits in the epistle, which have been already pointed out, and having regard to the migratory habits of the readers,⁵ there is no reason to take these opening words in any other than a literal sense. Jews of the Dispersion were to be found in almost every part of

¹ Gal. ii. 11, 12: “But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face, because he stood condemned. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision”; cf. Acts xv. 24: “Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls; to whom we gave no commandment.”

² Gal. ii. 9: “and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision”; Acts xv. 13-21, 25, 26: “And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Brethren, hearken unto me: . . . Wherefore my judgement is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles turn to God; but that we write unto them, that they abstain

from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood. For Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath. . . . It seemed good unto us, having come to one accord, to choose out men and send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

³ i. 25, cf. ii. 12; ii. 8.

⁴ i. 1; cf. John vii. 35: “The Jews therefore said among themselves, Whither will this man go that we shall not find him? will he go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks, and teach the Greeks?” The word *διασπορά* (“dispersion”) is first found in this sense in the Septuagint of Deut. xxviii. 25, *ἐσθὶ διασπορὰ ἐν πάσαις βασιλείαις τῆς γῆς*.

⁵ iv. 13: “Go to now, ye that say, To-day or to-morrow we will go into this city, and spend a year there, and trade, and get gain.”

the world, as appears from the narrative of the events which took place on the first Christian Pentecost.¹ The expression there used to describe the pilgrims who came up to Jerusalem, "devout men from every nation under heaven," is supported by the evidence of many independent witnesses, such as Philo and Josephus. These exiled Jews were chiefly located in Babylon, Syria, and Egypt; and it was probably to those resident in Syria that copies of this epistle would be first sent. The epistle is addressed to *Christian Jews*,² of whom there were many in Syria liable to persecution and violence similar to that which Saul was inflicting on the Christians previous to his conversion.³ While addressing himself mainly to Christian readers, the writer seems also to have occasionally in view his unbelieving countrymen. The denunciations in the last chapter may be regarded as an apostrophe to the wealthy unbelievers, chiefly of the sect of the Sadducees, who truckled to the Romans and oppressed their poorer brethren, especially those who professed Christianity.⁴ James would have many opportunities of hearing of the trials which beset his believing countrymen in their distant homes; and, as he seems

¹ Acts ii. 5-11.

² ii. 1, 7: "My brethren, hold not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. Do not they blaspheme the honourable name by the which ye are called?" v. 7, 8: "Be patient therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, being patient over it, until it receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord is at hand."

³ ii. 6, 7: "But ye have dishonoured the poor man. Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgement-seats? Do not they blaspheme the honourable name by the which ye are called?" Acts ix. 1, 2. "James wrote to Jews, who were not governed solely by Roman law, but who, down to A.D. 70, administered justice to a certain extent among themselves, according to their own sacred law, even in Roman cities of the Eastern provinces. Of course

the most serious penalties, and especially death, were beyond the independent Jewish jurisdiction; but still much suffering could be legally inflicted by Jews on other Jews, unless the victims possessed the Roman citizenship. Hence the situation of Jewish Christians before A.D. 64 was much more serious than that of Gentile Christians; but after that year official Roman action could be invoked with confident expectation of success against both classes, and after A.D. 70 the self-governing privileges of the Jews were entirely withdrawn."—Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 349.

⁴ v. 1-6: "Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you. . . . Behold, the hire of the labourers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out: and the cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. . . . Ye have condemned, ye have killed the righteous one; he doth not resist you."

never to have left Jerusalem, it was natural that under a sense of the high responsibility attaching to his position he should wish to address them in writing, as he does in this epistle.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

As both Scripture and tradition concur in representing James as having constantly resided at Jerusalem, there is no reason to doubt that the letter emanated from that city. With regard to the date of its composition there is less certainty. That it was written before the outbreak of the war, 66 A.D., which put an end to the Sadducean ascendancy, is generally admitted. We may also infer from the absence of any allusions to the sharp controversy regarding the obligations of the Jewish law on Gentile converts, which gave rise to the Council of Jerusalem (50 A.D.), that it was either written before that event, or not for some years afterwards.

On the whole, considering the marked absence from the epistle of anything like developed Christian doctrine, the continued expectation which it exhibits of Christ's speedy coming to judge the world,¹ and the application of the term Synagogue to an assembly of Christian worshippers,² we are justified in assigning to the epistle a very early date—say 44-49 A.D. If this supposition be correct, we have here the oldest book of the New Testament.³

¹ v. 8: "Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord is at hand."

² ii. 2: "For if there come into your synagogue a man with a gold ring, in fine clothing, and there come in also a poor man in vile clothing." In keeping with this is the fact that the only office-bearers mentioned are "the elders" (τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους). "Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church" (v. 14). The "judgement-seats" referred to in ii. 6 (quoted p. 224, note 3) were in all probability the national tribunals of the Jews.

³ The alleged references to Paul's writings cannot be substantiated. "The

expressions supposed to be borrowed from the Pauline epistles are, in fact, no more than expressions peculiar to the controversy, which might have been used whenever and by whomsoever it was entered on" (Alford). The resemblances to 1 Peter, however, are so striking that it can hardly be doubted St. Peter was well acquainted with this epistle. i. 2, 3: "Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold temptations; knowing that the proof of your faith worketh patience"; cf. 1 Peter i. 6, 7: "Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a little while, if need be, ye have been put to grief in manifold temptations, that the proof of

4. Character and Contents.

This epistle is *less doctrinal* or theological than any other in the New Testament. It partakes largely of the ethical character of the Sermon on the Mount, which it resembles, not only in its general tone and sentiment, but in many of its expressions.¹ Its tone is eminently practical, the object of the writer being to inculcate Christian morality as essential to salvation.² But it gives a prominent place to faith and patience,³ and includes in its good works

your faith, being more precious than gold that perisheth though it is proved by fire, might be found unto praise and glory and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ." i. 10, 11: "And the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away. For the sun ariseth with the scorching wind, and withereth the grass; and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his goings"; cf. 1 Pet. i. 24: "For, All flesh is as grass, And all the glory thereof as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower falleth." (In both there is a quotation from Isa. xl. 7.) i. 18: "Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures"; cf. 1 Pet. i. 3: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." i. 21: "Wherefore putting away all filthiness and overflowing of wickedness, receive with meekness the implanted word, which is able to save your souls"; cf. 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2: "Putting away therefore all wickedness, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings, as newborn babes, long for the spiritual milk which is without guile, that ye may grow thereby unto salvation." iv. 6, 7, 10: "But he giveth more grace. Wherefore the scripture saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Be subject therefore unto God; but resist the devil, and he will flee from you. . . . Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall exalt you"; cf. 1 Pet.

v. 5-9: "Likewise, ye younger, be subject unto the elder. Yea, all of you gird yourselves with humility, to serve one another: for God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time; casting all your anxiety upon him, because he careth for you. Be sober, be watchful: your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom withstand stedfast in your faith, knowing that the same sufferings are accomplished in your brethren who are in the world." (In both cases there is a quotation from Prov. iii. 34: "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble"; with the same slight departure from the Septuagint, and followed by the same exhortation.) v. 20: "Let him know, that he which converteth a sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins"; cf. 1 Pet. iv. 8: "Above all things being fervent in your love among yourselves; for love covereth a multitude of sins." (In both the same expression is borrowed from Prov. x. 12: "shall cover a multitude of sins.")

¹ "Essentially it is the teaching of Christ, and thus there is little teaching about Christ" (Beyschlag). i. 2; cf. Matt. v. 11, 12. i. 4; cf. Matt. v. 48. i. 20; cf. Matt. v. 22. ii. 13; cf. Matt. vi. 14, 15. ii. 14; cf. Matt. vii. 21-23. iv. 4; cf. Matt. vi. 24. iv. 10; cf. Matt. v. 3, 4. iv. 11; cf. Matt. vii. 1, 2. v. 2; cf. Matt. vi. 19. v. 10; cf. Matt. v. 12. v. 12; cf. Matt. v. 34-37.

² E.g. ii. 14-26.

³ E.g. i. 2-12.

the careful ruling of the tongue.¹ It also dwells much on the *wisdom*² which should characterise the religious man, and refers in detail to many other forms of duty—Christian practice being to the writer the highest form of outward worship.³ The style of the epistle is sententious and forcible, passing swiftly, and sometimes without any apparent logical formation, from one topic to another, and it has about it not a little of the vehemence and fervour of the old prophets. James does not hesitate to denounce in very strong and plain terms, which savour, in some respects, of the language of Amos, the greed and cruelty of the rich, the servility of the poor, and the general vanity, strife, hypocrisy, and worldly-mindedness which were characteristic of the Jews at this period of their history, and had begun to infect the Christians in their midst.⁴

He insists on *character* as the test of true religion, and demands that a man shall show the reality of his faith by his life and conduct. In his protests against an empty profession of religion, he is led into the use of language which has sometimes been supposed (by Luther, for example) to be irreconcilably at variance with the teaching of Paul. But in reality there is no such inconsistency between them.⁵

¹ iii. 1-12.

² E.g. iii. 13-18. Hence James has been called "the Apostle of Wisdom"; and the designation given to him in the Greek liturgy is that of "James the Wise."

³ i. 27: "Pure religion (*θρησκεία*) and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

⁴ iv. 13: "Go to now, ye that say, To-day or to-morrow we will go into this city, and spend a year there, and trade, and get gain"; v. 1, 2: "Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten"; cf. Amos viii. 4-10: "Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, Saying, When

will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit? . . . And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning for an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day." v. 5: "Ye have lived delicately on the earth, and taken your pleasure; ye have nourished your hearts in a day of slaughter"; Amos vi. 3-6: "Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall," &c.

⁵ At the same time it is quite possible that the misrepresentations referred to

The good works which James contends for are altogether different from the ritualistic observances which Paul refused to acknowledge as necessary for salvation ; the justification he has in view in this epistle is not the initial admission into the Divine favour which Paul's Gentile converts needed, but the continuance of God's people in a state of grace to which they are already called ; while the faith which he depreciates is not that personal union with the Lord Jesus Christ which Paul declared to be all-important for the Christian, but mere intellectual belief, such as the acceptance of the monotheistic doctrine that lay at the foundation of the Jewish faith.¹ No one can read such language as is quoted below² without seeing that Paul would have concurred most heartily in all that this epistle says about the necessity for carrying religion into practice.

in Acts xv. 24 : "Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls ; to whom we gave no commandment," may have been due to a perversion of James' teaching in such a passage as ii. 10 : "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet stumble in one point, he is become guilty of all." Similarly it may have been some unworthy exponent of Paul's doctrine that James had in view when he used such language as ii. 20 : "But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith apart from works is barren."

¹ ii. 19 : "Thou believest that God is one ; thou doest well : the devils also believe, and shudder."

² Titus iii. 8 : "Faithful is the saying, and concerning these things I will that thou affirm confidently, to the end that they which have believed God may be careful to maintain good works. These things are good and profitable unto

men" ; Rom. ii. 17-27 : "... thou therefore that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself ? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal ? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery ? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob temples ? thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonourest thou God ? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you, even as it is written. For circumcision indeed profiteth, if thou be a doer of the law : but if thou be a transgressor of the law, thy circumcision is become uncircumcision. If therefore the uncircumcision keep the ordinances of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be reckoned for circumcision ? and shall not the uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who with the letter and circumcision art a transgressor of the law ?"

CHAPTER XXI.

"THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF PETER."

1. *Authorship.*

THERE is abundant evidence to prove that this epistle was written by the apostle whose name it bears. Hardly any book of the New Testament is better supported by external evidence,¹ while internally it bears in many of its features the stamp of Peter's mind, and the traces of his experience, as these are represented to us in the Gospels and in the Book of Acts.

From these sources we learn that the apostle was originally called "Simon the son of John," and that he was a fisherman of Bethsaida before he attached himself to Jesus. With his brother Andrew, who brought him to Jesus, he was a disciple of John the Baptist before finding the Messiah. At His very first interview with the new disciple, Jesus discerned his great capacity for rendering service to His cause, and gave him a prophetic token of the part he was to play in the early history of His Church by conferring on him the new name of *Cephas* (in Greek, *Peter*, meaning rock or stone).² The significance of the name was more fully unfolded at a later time, on the occasion of Peter's great

¹ Clement of Rome and Hermas seem to have known it; Polycarp frequently quotes from it; Papias used it, as Eusebius tells us (who included it among the undisputed Books of the New Testament); it is recognised by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian; it has a place in the oldest Versions (although not in the Muratorian Canon); and it is referred to in 2 Peter (iii. 1), whose antiquity is acknowledged even by those who deny its genuineness.

² John i. 40-42: "One of the two that heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He findeth first his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah (which is, being interpreted, Christ). He brought him unto Jesus. Jesus looked upon him, and said, Thou art Simon the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas (which is by interpretation, Peter)."

confession of Jesus as the Christ.¹ Like John and James, Peter was admitted to a closer fellowship with his Master than the rest of the disciples.² In company with John he was a witness of Christ's trial in the high priest's palace, where he fell into the threefold denial of his Master—to be bitterly repented of immediately afterwards.³ On the third day after the crucifixion the same disciples went together early in the morning to the tomb and found it empty, as Mary Magdalene had told them. The new faith which then sprang up in Peter's heart was confirmed by several interviews granted to him by the risen Christ, who gave him a new commission, thrice uttered, to devote himself to the interests of his Master's flock, and predicted that he would die a martyr's death.⁴

In the Book of Acts we find Peter acting as the leader and spokesman of the early Church at several crises in its history, viz., the election of an apostle in place of the betrayer; the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost; the admission of the Gentiles, in the person of Cornelius, the Roman centurion, to the communion of the Church; and the emancipation of the Gentile converts from the bondage of the Jewish law at the Council of

¹ Matt. xvi. 13-19: "Now when Jesus came into the parts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that the Son of man is? And they said, Some say John the Baptist; some, Elijah: and others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

² Mark v. 37 (Raising of Jāirus' daughter): "And he suffered no man

to follow with him, save Peter, and James, and John the brother of James." Matt. xvii. 1, 2: "And after six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart: and he was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his garments became white as the light." Matt. xxvi. 37 (in Gethsemane): "And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and sore troubled"; cf. Mark iii. 14, 17: "And he appointed twelve, that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, . . . and James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and them he surnamed Boanerges, which is, Sons of thunder."

³ Matt. xxvi. 69-75; Mark xiv. 66-72; Luke xxii. 54-62; John xviii. 15-27.

⁴ John xx. 1-10, 19; Luke xxiv. 33, 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5; John xxi.

Jerusalem (about 50 A.D.).¹ It appears that some time afterwards Peter was guilty of vacillation in his relations with Gentile Christians at Antioch—reminding us of his earlier weakness,—which called forth a public remonstrance from the apostle of the Gentiles.²

Regarding Peter's subsequent life, scarcely any information is furnished by the New Testament; but there is an ancient and general tradition that he suffered martyrdom at Rome.³ Many legends have gathered round his imprisonment, death, and burial. The lack of evidence for these need not prevent us from acquiescing in the general belief of the early Church that it was at Rome Peter suffered the death by martyrdom which had been predicted by his Lord. This is contradicted by no other ancient tradition of the Church, and we have some confirmation of it in this epistle (see pp. 235-7).

In illustration of the remark already made as to the harmony of this epistle with Peter's experience and character, we may note the following points. (1) The writer claims to have been "a witness of the sufferings of Christ," and retains a vivid impression of them, as shown in his description of Christ's patience, and the frequency of his allusions to the subject.⁴ (2) He gives prominence

¹ Acts i. 15-26; ii. 1-42; x.; xv. 6-11.

² Gal. ii. 11-14: "But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face, because he stood condemned. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision," &c.

³ "While the tradition that St. Peter perished in Rome is strong and early, the tradition about the date of his death is not so clear. The earliest authority for the date is Origen, who places his martyrdom under Nero before that of Paul. Tertullian also seems in one passage to assign it to the time of Nero; but in another passage he mentions the tradition of the Roman Church that Clement was ordained by St. Peter. The latter passage is the strongest evidence which we possess on the point, and it clearly proves that the Roman tradi-

tion during the latter part of the second century placed the martyrdom much later than the time of Nero. The tradition that he lived for a long time in Rome is also strong, and as Dr Harnack justly says, 'it is difficult to suppose that so large a body of tradition has no foundation in fact.' But conclusive reasons show that he cannot have been in Rome long before the Neronian persecution; and therefore a long residence there is impossible, unless he lived to a much later date."—Prof. Ramsay.

⁴ v. 1: "The elders therefore among you I exhort, who am a fellow-elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, who am also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed"; ii. 20-24: "For what glory is it, if, when ye sin, and are buffeted for it, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye shall take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For hereunto

to Christ's resurrection, and represents it as the source of a new and living hope,¹—which had been precisely Peter's experience. (3) He dwells upon the pastoral aspect of Christ's ministry as if under an abiding sense of the responsibility laid upon him by his Master's threefold charge to act the part of a shepherd to his flock.² (4) He enlarges on the idea embodied in Peter's name, representing the Church as "a spiritual house" composed of living stones, with Christ Himself as the chief corner-stone—an idea to which Peter had given expression in his address to the Sanhedrim, after the example of his Lord—both quoting from the Old Testament.³ (5) His injunction to his readers, "all of you gird yourselves with humility" (liter-

were ye called : because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps : who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth : who, when he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, threatened not ; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously : who his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness ; by whose stripes ye were healed."

¹i. 3, 4, 21 : "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, . . . who through him are believers in God, which raised him from the dead, and gave him glory ; so that your faith and hope might be in God" ; iii. 21, 22 : "Which also after a true likeness doth now save you, even baptism, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience toward God, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ ; who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven ; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him."

²ii. 25 : "For ye were going astray like sheep ; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls" ; v. 2-4 : "Tend the flock of God which is among you, exercising the oversight,

not of constraint, but willingly, according unto God ; nor yet for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ; neither as lording it over the charge allotted to you, but making yourselves ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall be manifested, ye shall receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away." John xxi. 15-17 : "Feed my lambs. . . . Tend my sheep. . . . Feed my sheep."

³ii. 4-8 : "a living stone, rejected indeed of men, but with God elect, precious, ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. Because it is contained in scripture, Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner stone, elect, precious : And he that believeth on him shall not be put to shame. For you therefore which believe is the preciousness : but for such as disbelieve, The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner ; and, A stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence ; for they stumble at the word, being disobedient : whereunto also they were appointed" ; Acts iv. 11 : "He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, which was made the head of the corner" ; Matt. xxi. 42 : "Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner : This was from the Lord, And it is marvellous in our eyes?"

ally, "put on humility like a slave's apron,"¹) sounds like a reminiscence of the Saviour's action which so astonished Peter when "he took a towel, and girded himself" in order to wash His disciples' feet, saying, when He had finished, "I have given you an example, that ye also should do as I have done to you."² (6) His language in the epistle, "And if ye call on him as Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to each man's work, pass the time of your sojourning in fear," bears a strong resemblance to Peter's words at Cæsarea, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him."³ (7) In his exhortation to his readers to "be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," we have probably the reproduction of the lesson taught to Peter by his Lord with regard to the payment of the tribute money.⁴

In the last-mentioned passage, as in many others, we can discern traces of the same graphic and pictorial style as we have seen to be characteristic of the Gospel of Mark, which there is reason to believe is largely a record of Peter's preaching. Such are the expressions, "not using your freedom for a cloke of wickedness," the word translated "cloke" being peculiar to Peter (only used here), and meaning a *veil* or *covering*; ⁵ "ye should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men," the word rendered "*put to silence*" meaning, in a literal sense, to *muzzle* (as a dog), and being only

¹ v. 5: τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε.

² John xiii. 2-17.

³ i. 17; Acts x. 34, 35.

⁴ ii. 13-16: "Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as sent by him for vengeance on evil-doers and for praise to them that do well. For so is the will of God, that by well-doing ye should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your freedom for a cloke of wickedness, but as bond-servants of God"; Matt. xvii. 24-27: "And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the half-shekel

came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay the half-shekel? He saith, Yea. And when he came into the house, Jesus spake first to him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive toll or tribute? from their sons or from strangers? And when he said, From strangers, Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free. But, lest we cause them to stumble, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth thou shalt find a shekel: that take, and give unto them for me and thee."

⁵ ii. 16—ἐπικάλυμμα.

applied elsewhere in the New Testament to the subduing of an unclean spirit, and the stilling of the raging sea—both in the Gospel of Mark;¹ “leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps,” the literal meaning of the word translated “*example*” being the *copy-head* set before a scholar for his patient and persevering imitation;² “your adversary the devil, as a *roaring lion*, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.”³ Akin to the pictorial style of the epistle is the “wealth of epithets” by which it is distinguished, *e.g.* “an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away.”⁴

It appears that in writing this epistle Peter had the assistance of “Silvanus, our faithful brother,”⁵ as his amanuensis, who is, no doubt, to be identified with the “Silas” mentioned in the Book of Acts, and the Silvanus of St. Paul’s epistles.⁶

2. The Readers.

“To the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.” The meaning of this address has been much disputed. By some it has been taken in a literal sense as denoting the Christian Jews of the Dispersion residing in the various parts of Asia Minor that are here specified. But this is inconsistent with the language used by the apostle to his readers, which, in several passages,⁷ would lead us to sup-

¹ ii. 15—*φίμω*ν; Mark i. 25—*φίμω*-*θητι*; iv. 39—*πεφίμω*σο.

² ii. 21—*ὑπογράμμιον*.

³ v. 8—*ὡς λέων ὠροῦμενος*.

⁴ i. 4; *cf.* i. 7: “praise and glory and honour”; 19: “as of a lamb without blemish and without spot”; ii. 9: “But ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God’s own possession,” &c.

⁵ v. 12: “By Silvanus, our faithful brother, as I account him, I have written unto you briefly, exhorting, and testifying that this is the true grace of God: stand ye fast therein.”

⁶ Acts xv. 22, 32, 40; 1 Thess. i. 1;

⁷ 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19.

⁷ i. 14: “as children of obedience,

not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in the time of your ignorance”; ii. 9, 10: “. . . that ye may shew forth the excellencies of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light: which in time past were no people, but now are the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy”; *cf.* Rom. ix. 25 (where the same words of Hosea [ii. 23] are applied to the calling of the Gentiles): “As he saith also in Hosea, I will call that my people, which was not my people; And her beloved, which was not beloved”; iii. 6: “as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose children ye now are, if ye do well, and are not put in fear by any

pose that the readers of the epistle were largely Gentiles, as we know the members of the Churches in Asia Minor for the most part were.¹

The words "sojourners of the Dispersion" are probably to be interpreted in a spiritual sense with reference to the heavenly Canaan, from which Christ's followers on earth may be regarded as temporary exiles, the Churches to which they belong being scattered branches of a common-wealth that has its home and its metropolis in heaven.² This interpretation is justified by the whole tone of the epistle, which gives a spiritual meaning to the blessings of the Old Covenant.³ It accords in particular with the words, "Beloved, I beseech you as sojourners and pilgrims, to abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul."

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

The only thing we have to guide us as to the place of writing is in one of the closing salutations: "She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you."⁵ By this we may understand the Church in Rome, which city is here called "Babylon," as the new seat of oppression and cruelty to God's people.⁶ This was the view generally held by the early Church Fathers;⁷ it is in accordance

terror"; iv. 3: "For the time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles, and to have walked in lasciviousness, lusts, wine-bibbings, revellings, carousings, and abominable idolatries."

¹ For information regarding the Church in Pontus see Acts ii. 9, xviii. 2; in Galatia, pp. 127 ff.; in Cappadocia, Acts ii. 9; in Asia, Acts xviii. 24-26, xx. 17-35, and the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. These Churches had received the Gospel from Paul and his associates. Hence the value of Peter's testimony in v. 12 (quoted p. 234, note 5).

² "The First Epistle of St. Peter is addressed to all the Christian communities of Asia Minor north of the Taurus." — Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*.

³ In accordance with this is the view which regards Paul as the apostle of Gentile Christianity, James as the apostle of Jewish Christianity, Peter as holding an intermediate position between the two, and John as the apostle of universal Christianity.

⁴ ii. 11.

⁵ v. 13.

⁶ Another interpretation identifies "She that is in Babylon" with Peter's wife (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 5; Matt. viii. 14); but the explanation above given seems much preferable.

⁷ It is mentioned by Eusebius, apparently on the authority of Clement of Alexandria and Papias, and it finds confirmation in the general belief that Peter was martyred at Rome, which seems to have been prevalent before the close of the second century (judging

with the figurative language of the epistle, referred to in the previous section; and it accounts for the strong resemblance between this epistle and that of Paul to the Romans, with which Peter could scarcely have failed to become acquainted during his residence in the capital.¹ It is

from the statements of Dionysius of Corinth, Tertullian, and Caius of Rome).

¹ *E.g.* i. 14, 15: "as children of obedience, not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in the time of your ignorance: but like as he which called you is holy, be ye yourselves also holy in all manner of living"; *cf.* Rom. xii. 2: "And be not fashioned according to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God." ii. 5: "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ"; *cf.* Rom. xii. 1: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service." ii. 6-8: "Because it is contained in scripture, Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner stone, elect, precious: And he that believeth on him shall not be put to shame. For you therefore which believe is the preciousness: but for such as disbelieve, The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner; and, A stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence; for they stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed"; *cf.* Rom. ix. 32, 33: "Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by works. They stumbled at the stone of stumbling; even as it is written, Behold, I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence: And he that believeth on him shall not be put to shame." (In both epistles there is here a combination of Isa. viii. 14 and xxviii. 16.) ii. 10; *cf.* Rom. ix. 25 (see p. 234, note 7). ii. 13, 14: "Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as sent by him for vengeance on evil-doers and for praise to them that do well"; *cf.* Rom. xiii. 1-4: "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of

God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God: and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgement. For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. And wouldest thou have no fear of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same: for he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil." iii. 9: "not rendering evil for evil"; *cf.* Rom. xii. 17: "Render to no man evil for evil." iii. 22: "who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him"; *cf.* Rom. viii. 34: "Who is he that shall condemn? It is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." iv. 3, 7: "For the time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles, and to have walked in lasciviousness, lusts, wine-bibbings, revellings, carousings, and abominable idolatries: . . . But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore of sound mind, and be sober unto prayer"; *cf.* Rom. xiii. 11-13: "And this, knowing the season, that now it is high time for you to awake out of sleep: for now is salvation nearer to us than when we first believed. The night is far spent, and the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in revelling and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and jealousy." iv. 9: "using hospitality one to another without murmuring"; *cf.* Rom. xii. 13: "given to hospitality." iv. 10: "according as each hath received a gift, ministering it among yourselves, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God"; *cf.* Rom. xii. 6: "And having gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy

almost certain that Babylon has this meaning in the Revelation; and it would add to the force of Peter's exhortations to courage and patience, that he was himself, when he wrote, in the very thick of the conflict.¹

With regard to the date of its composition, the probability seems to be that the letter was written shortly after the outbreak of the Neronian persecution, when the Churches in the provinces were beginning to experience the effects of the imperial example at Rome about 64-5 A.D.² The readers are addressed as liable to perse-

according to the proportion of our faith." A resemblance can also be traced between this epistle and Ephesians, as will be seen from a comparison of the following passages:—i. 1, &c.: "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," &c.; cf. Eph. i. 3, &c.: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ," &c. i. 14: "as children of obedience, not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in the time of your ignorance"; cf. Eph. ii. 3: "among whom we also all once lived in the lusts of our flesh, doing the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest." i. 20: "who was foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world"; cf. Eph. i. 4: "even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love." ii. 18: "Servants, be in subjection to your masters with all fear"; cf. Eph. vi. 5: "Servants, be obedient unto them that according to the flesh are your masters, with fear and trembling." iii. 1: "In like manner, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands"; cf. Eph. v. 22: "Wives, be in subjection unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord." iii. 4: "the hidden man of the heart"; cf. Eph. iii. 16: "the inward man." iii. 19, 20: "In which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient"; cf. Eph. iv. 9: "Now this, He ascended, what is it but that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth." iii. 21, 22: "through the resurrection of Jesus

Christ; who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him"; cf. Eph. i. 20, 21: "which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and made him to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come." v. 5: "Likewise, ye younger, be subject unto the elder. Yea, all of you gird yourselves with humility, to serve one another"; cf. Eph. v. 21: "subjecting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ."

For resemblances to the Epistle of James, see p. 225, note 3. These go far to prove that the author of this epistle made use of that work, addressed to Jewish Christians by the recognised head of the Church at Jerusalem; and, as Salmon points out (*Introduction*, p. 489), this is a circumstance at variance with the Tübingen theory that 1 Peter is the work of a Paulinist of the second century, who wished to arrogate the authority of Peter's name for his anti-Jewish views.

¹ "That this epistle was written from Rome, I cannot doubt. It is impregnated with Roman thought to a degree beyond any other book in the Bible; the relation to the state and its officers forms an unusually large part of the whole. . . . That Babylon should be understood as the Chaldean city appears to conflict so entirely with all record and early tradition, as to hardly need discussion."—Prof. Ramsay.

² "When Nero had once established the principle in Rome, his action served as a precedent in every province. . . . After 64 A.D. the example set by the

cution, both of a social and a legal character, the very name of Christian having become a term of reproach, and still worse evils being imminent. Indeed, the signs of persecution are so pronounced in this epistle, that it has, on this account, been assigned by many to a later date.¹

4. *Character and Contents.*

This epistle breathes the spirit of *practical earnestness* so characteristic of its author. The Greek word "to do good"² occurs no less than nine times in the course of the five chapters. There is no want of allusion to Christian privilege and Christian doctrine; but it is always for a practical purpose, as furnishing motives for Christian obedience. Of this we have an illustration in the frequent use of the words "wherefore," "therefore," "because," &c., by way of enforcing practical applications.³ The chief duty which the writer wishes to inculcate is that of patience under trial.⁴

Emperor necessarily guided the action of all Roman officials toward the Christians."—Prof. Ramsay.

¹ See Note A at the end of this chapter. ii. 18-20: "Servants, be in subjection to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is acceptable, if for conscience toward God a man endureth griefs, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye sin, and are buffeted for it, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye shall take it patiently, this is acceptable with God"; iii. 13-17: "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be zealous of that which is good? But and if ye should suffer for righteousness' sake, blessed are ye: and fear not their fear, neither be troubled; but sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord: being ready always to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope that is in you, yet with meekness and fear: having a good conscience; that, wherein ye are spoken against, they may be put to shame who revile your good manner of life in Christ. For it is better, if the will of God should so will, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing"; iv. 12-17: "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery

trial among you, which cometh upon you to prove you, as though a strange thing happened unto you; but inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, rejoice; that at the revelation of his glory also ye may rejoice with exceeding joy. If ye are reproached for the name of Christ, blessed are ye; because the Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God resteth upon you. For let none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evil-doer, or as a meddler in other men's matters: but if a man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God in this name. For the time is come for judgement to begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of them that obey not the gospel of God?"

ἀγαθοποιεῖν.

³ διό, οὖν, διότι, &c. i. 13: "Wherefore girding up the loins of your mind, be sober and set your hope perfectly on the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ"; i. 16: "because it is written, Ye shall be holy; for I am holy"; ii. 1: "Putting away therefore all wickedness," &c.

⁴ i. 6, 7: "Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a little while, if need be, ye have been put to grief in manifold temptations, that the proof of your faith,

In many cases this suffering arose from persecution—proceeding from suspicion and ill-will on the part of the non-Christian members of the community. For the endurance of all such unmerited sufferings the apostle points them to the example of the Saviour (whose sufferings are referred to in every chapter), at the same time bidding them take care that they do not bring trouble on themselves by their unworthy conduct. Their trials, he reminds them, are only for a time,¹ and will receive abundant compensation at the revelation of Christ's glory.² "The sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them," are indeed the two poles around which the whole argument of the epistle turns, resulting in a beautiful blending of patience and hope. Hence Peter has been styled "the apostle of hope."³

Along with the calls to patience there are mingled various other admonitions addressed to *citizens, servants, wives, husbands, elders of the Church*, and the *congregation* generally, with reference to various duties.⁴ It is worthy of note, that although this epistle has so little of a speculative character, it has been the means of revealing two interesting truths, which would not have been otherwise known to us.⁵

being more precious than gold that perisheth though it is proved by fire, might be found unto praise and glory and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ"; ii. 19-21: "For this is acceptable, if for conscience toward God a man endureth griefs, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye sin, and are buffeted for it, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye shall take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps"; iii. 13-18 (p. 238, note 1); iv. 12-19 (p. 238, note 1).

¹i. 6: "Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a little while, if need be, ye have been put to grief in manifold temptations"; iv. 7: "But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore of sound mind, and be sober unto prayer"; v. 10: "And the God of all grace, who called you unto his eternal glory in

Christ, after that ye have suffered a little while, shall himself perfect, stablish, strengthen you."

²i. 7: "that the proof of your faith, being more precious than gold that perisheth though it is proved by fire, might be found unto praise and glory and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ"; iv. 13, 14 (quoted p. 238, note 1); v. 10: (quoted above, note 1).

³As compared with John the apostle of love, Paul the apostle of faith, and James the apostle of works.

⁴ii. 13-17, 18-20; iii. 1-6, 1; v. 1-4, 5-11.

⁵i. 12: "To whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto you, did they minister these things, which now have been announced unto you through them that preached the gospel unto you by the Holy Ghost sent forth from heaven; *which things angels desire to look into*"; iii. 18-20: "... quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits

It may also be said to contain a practical refutation of the Romish theory as to Peter's jurisdiction in the Church. So far from making any claim to authority or pre-eminence, the writer expressly puts himself on a level with the other presbyters, and deprecates anything like a spirit of lordship in the exercise of their ministry.¹ The names "priest," "bishop," "Church," are never even mentioned by him.²

in prison, which aforetime were disobedient. . . ."

¹ v. 1-3: "The elders therefore among you I exhort, who am a fellow-elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, who am also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed: Tend the flock of God which is among you, exercising the oversight, not of constraint, but willingly, according unto God; nor yet for

filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as lording it over the charge allotted to you, but making yourselves ensamples to the flock."

² Except "Bishop" in ii. 25, where it is Christ Himself who is so designated. This fact would be the more significant, if we accepted Prof. Ramsay's view that the epistle was not written till about 80 A.D.

NOTE on Date of 1 Peter.

The opinion held by many German critics that the persecution of Christians on account of their religion, of which we have tokens in this epistle (iv. 15, 16, quoted p. 238), did not exist before the issue of Trajan's famous rescript to Pliny (112 A.D.), and that the epistle must therefore be a forgery of the second century, may be regarded as no longer tenable. It is now generally acknowledged that the effect of that rescript was not to initiate a new procedure, but rather to moderate the zeal of provincial authorities, and discourage them from seeking out Christians or taking action against them unless the charge was brought forward by a responsible accuser. That the persecution of Christians as such was not unknown in Nero's reign after the burning of Rome (64 A.D.), may be inferred from the statements of several Roman historians. Thus Tacitus says (Annals xv. 44): *Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis conjuncti sunt.* "Accordingly those were first seized who confessed they were Christians, then, on their information, a vast multitude were similarly dealt with, not so much on the charge of incendiarism, as of hatred to the human race (society)." This view is confirmed by Suetonius (Nero, 16): *Afflicti suppliciiis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ*

ac maleficæ. "The Christians were visited with punishment, a class of people addicted to a new and pernicious superstition."

The language of Sulpicius Severus (who is, however, a much later and inferior authority) gives a similar impression. Referring to the persecution by Nero, he says (Chron. ii. 29): *Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cæptum, post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat*. "This was the beginning of severe measures against the Christians. Afterwards the religion was forbidden by formal laws, and the profession of Christianity was made illegal by published edicts."

Professor Mommsen, who may be regarded as the highest authority on the subject, in a recent article in the *Expositor* (July 1893), states that "it is probable that the separation of Jews and Christians by the general public and the rise of animosity against the latter took place under the second dynasty, as Nero's measures show it fully developed. The double foundation on which the persecution rested, the general contempt of the Roman gods and the belief in special crimes of lewdness and other misdemeanours attributed to their conventicles, the *nomen Christiani* and the *flagitia Christianorum*, without doubt sprang up together." Again: "the national religion was the foundation as well of Latin Rome as of the *Roma communis omnium patria*, the spiritual symbol of the political union. Now this foundation was sapped, this symbol rejected by the Christians, and by the Christians first and alone. The severing of the nationality from the creed, the basing the religion on humanity, is the very essence of the Christian revolution. . . . The Christian 'atheism,' the negation of the national gods, was, as I have shown elsewhere, the contempt of the *dii publici populi Romani*, in itself high treason; or, as the Christians express it (thoughts being free but words not), the mere Christian name, the 'testimony' of such atheism, constitutes a crime in the eye of the law."

Prof. Ramsay in his recent work (*The Church in the Roman Empire*) and in the *Expositor* for July and August 1893, argues strongly that the absolute proscription of "the Name" and the treatment of Christians as outlaws, did not take place till the time of the Flavian dynasty, probably in the reign of Vespasian (about 75 A.D.), and that this epistle cannot have been written much earlier than 80 A.D. But the external evidence which Prof. Ramsay adduces, however ably and skilfully handled, is in itself very meagre and precarious; and he finds it necessary to rest his case chiefly on the wide difference which he traces between the language of the Pastoral Epistles and that of this epistle (and still more of the Book of Revelation) as regards the persecution to which the Christians were exposed. He dwells particularly on the representation given of the readers, in this epistle, as "reproached for the name of Christ," and being liable to "suffer as a

Christian," thus having it in their power to "glorify God in this name" (iv. 14-16). He also gives a judicial sense to the "answer" (*ἀπολογία*) which they are to be ready to give "to every man that asketh (them) a reason concerning the hope that is in (them)" (iii. 15). But the expression "to every man" would seem rather to refer to the intercourse of social life; and with regard to suffering for "the Name," we can imagine that, after Christians as a class had fallen under general suspicion (as they did in the reign of Nero—if not still earlier), it would not be long before such a way of speaking would come into use. In this connection we may quote Prof. Ramsay's own statement (p. 241) that "the persecution of Nero, begun for the sake of diverting popular attention, was continued as a permanent police measure under the form of a general prosecution of Christians as a sect dangerous to the public safety."

It has also to be noted that the writer of the epistle does not look upon the state as absolutely hostile, or on the position of the Christians in the world as altogether hopeless. He speaks of "governors as sent by (the Lord) for vengeance on evil-doers and for praise to them that do well" (ii. 14); and he asks, "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be zealous of that which is good" (iii. 13). As Prof. Ramsay says (p. 282): "He still clings to the idea that the Christians are persecuted because they are believed to be guilty of great crimes; the old charges of the Neronian time are still in his memory, and he hopes that, if the absurdity of these charges be fully brought home to the minds of men, the persecution must be stopped." And again (p. 348), "Christians suffered by being convicted as criminals, and not as Christians; defence lay in a life above suspicion (1 Peter iv. 25)."

It is quite true that the subject of persecution is much less prominent in the Pastoral Epistles (67-68 A.D.), there being only a few passages in which it is mentioned (see 1 Tim. iv. 10; vi. 1; 2 Tim. i. 8; ii. 3, 9; iii. 11, 12; iv. 17, 18). But this may be accounted for by the reaction which (Tacitus tells us) took place in the public mind after the atrocities perpetrated on the Christians by Nero, in connection with the great Fire at Rome (64 A.D.). Prof. Ramsay puts this strongly when he says (p. 243), "The persecution began in 64, and it was obviously at an end when Nero left Rome towards the end of 66. It had been continued by the Emperor after the people had become sick of it; and when his personal influence was withdrawn, it can hardly have continued."

Referring to the same period, Prof. Mommsen says: "The huge proportions and the cruel features which this repression assumed in the worst years of this reign, form an exception to the general preponderance of toleration or, what comes to the same, of moderate persecution, which confirms the rule. This in my opinion continued under the Flavian dynasty."

The subsidiary arguments which Prof. Ramsay adduces in favour of a later date than the reign of Nero (*e.g.* the symbolic use of the term "Babylon" and of the "Dispersion," the familiarity of the writer with *James*, *Romans*, and *Ephesians*, the organisation and intercommunication of the Church in all parts of Asia Minor) have a certain degree of force, but are scarcely sufficient to outweigh the general probability in favour of the earlier date that is usually assigned to the epistle. Even if Prof. Ramsay's view be accepted, however, it is quite consistent (as he points out) with the Petrine authorship. (See above, p. 231, *note* 3.)

CHAPTER XXII.

2 PETER—JUDE.¹

“THE SECOND EPISTLE GENERAL OF PETER.”

1. *Authorship.*

THE genuineness of this epistle has been more questioned than that of any other book in the New Testament.² The external evidence for it is comparatively meagre. We seem to hear echoes of its language in some of the earliest post-apostolic works,³ but the first writer to make express and unmistakable mention of it is Origen (230 A.D.), and in one passage he does so in such a manner as to show that he has doubts about its genuineness.⁴ A century later it is classed by Eusebius among the disputed books of the New Testament.⁵

The difficulty of accepting it as a genuine writing of Peter has chiefly arisen both in ancient and in modern times from its differing so greatly in tone and substance

¹ On the connection between these two epistles, see pp. 253-4.

² The question of genuineness really carries with it that of canonicity, as the Epistle is written throughout in the name and with the authority of the apostle Peter, and would cease to have any title to reverence if it could be proved to be a forgery. In this respect it stands on a different footing from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

³ Clement, Hermas, and Polycarp; but with more certainty in later writers of the second and third centuries—viz., Melito of Sardis, Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus of Portus, Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Clementine *Recognitions*,—whose use of the Epistle is all the more significant as they represent so many different parts of Christendom. We have it on the authority of

Eusebius that Clement of Alexandria wrote on “the Epistle of Jude and the remaining Catholic Epistles.”

⁴ “Peter . . . has left one epistle generally accepted. Grant also a second, for it is a matter of question” (*ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ*).—*Euseb.* vi. 25.

⁵ “That which is in circulation as the second of Peter, we have been given to understand is not canonical: (*οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον*), nevertheless as it appeared useful to many, it has been diligently studied along with the other Scriptures” (iii. 3). Against this statement of Eusebius, we may put the fact that the Epistle is contained in the two earliest MSS. that have come down to us (A and B) which were probably written in Eusebius’ own lifetime.

from the First Epistle, written, as we have seen, near the close of Peter's life.¹ There is scarcely any reference in it to our Saviour's sufferings or resurrection, which figure so largely in the First Epistle; and what it chiefly inculcates is *knowledge* rather than *hope*.

But, apart from the versatility of Peter's mind, this difference in the character of the two Epistles may to a large extent be accounted for by the different circumstances under which they were written. While the First was evidently designed to encourage and support Christians under persecution, this later one was intended to warn them against false teachers who were spreading corruption in the Church. At the same time this epistle, like the First, is eminently practical, insisting on the necessity of Christian duty for the perfecting of Christian knowledge, emphasising the danger of knowledge without practice, and giving a practical turn to the argument.² Moreover, amid the general difference of style,³ a close examination of the language

¹ Referring to the two Epistles of Peter, Jerome (De. V. l. i.) says: *quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur propter styli cum priore dissonantiam* ("the second of which is held by a great many not to be his, owing to the want of harmony between its style and that of the first"). Jerome thought the difference might be accounted for by Peter's having had the assistance of two different interpreters; and similarly Calvin and Erasmus regarded the peculiarities of this Epistle as due to its having been written, not by Peter himself, but by one of his disciples under his directions.

² i. 5-11: "Yea, and for this very cause adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue; and in your virtue knowledge; and in your knowledge temperance; and in your temperance patience; and in your patience godliness; and in your godliness love of the brethren; and in your love of the brethren love. For if these things are yours and abound, they make you to be not idle nor unfruitful unto the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. For he that lacketh these things is blind, seeing only what is near, having forgotten the cleansing from his old sins. Wherefore, brethren, give the

more diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never stumble: for thus shall be richly supplied unto you the entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ"; ii. 20, 21: "For if, after they have escaped the defilements of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein and overcome, the last state is become worse with them than the first. For it were better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after knowing it, to turn back from the holy commandment delivered unto them"; iii. 11, 14: "Seeing that these things are thus all to be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy living and godliness, ... Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for these things, give diligence that ye may be found in peace, without spot and blameless in his sight."

³ Dr Salmon mentions five features in which this epistle differs from the First: (1) Repetition of words and phrases, e.g. "grant" (*δωρέομαι*), i. 3, 4; "destruction" (*ἀπώλεια*), ii. 1, 3; iii. 7, 16; "right" or "righteous"

and thought in this Epistle brings out many points of resemblance between it and *Peter's language elsewhere*. A likeness to the First Epistle will be found on a comparison of the undernoted passages.¹ It may also be seen in the

(*δίκαιος*), i. 13; ii. 7, 8. (2) Rarity of such connecting particles as *ὅνα*, *ὅτι*, *οὖν*, *μέν*. (3) A different formation of subordinate clauses, by the use of the preposition *ἐν* and a substantive (e.g. *τῆς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς*, i. 4), while there is a common use of *ὡς* in the First Epistle (i. 13, 19; ii. 2, &c.), which is rare in the Second. (4) Comparative paucity of Old Testament quotations (thirty-one in 1 Peter but only five at most in 2 Peter), which may be paralleled, however, by comparing the Fourth Gospel (which has many such quotations, with 1 John which has none). (5) The frequent use of the words "Saviour" (*σωτήρ*), "coming" (*παρουσία*), "knowledge" (*ἐπίγνωσις*), which do not occur in 1 Peter, but are found in Paul's writings. Instead of *παρουσία* we find *ἀποκάλυψις* ("revelation") in the First Epistle (i. 7, 13; iv. 13), which was a more appropriate word to use in addressing those who were waiting for Christ's appearing.

¹ i. 2: "Grace to you and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord"; cf. 1 Peter i. 2: "Grace to you and peace be multiplied." i. 3: "through the knowledge of him that called us by his own glory and virtue"; cf. 1 Peter v. 10: "And the God of all grace, who called you unto his eternal glory in Christ." i. 7: "and in your godliness love of the brethren; and in your love of the brethren love"; cf. 1 Peter i. 22: "Seeing ye have purified your souls in your obedience to the truth unto unfeigned love of the brethren, love one another from the heart fervently"; and iii. 8: "Finally, be ye all likeminded, compassionate, loving as brethren, tenderhearted, humbleminded." The word *φιλαδελφία* ("love of the brethren") only occurs three times elsewhere in the New Testament. i. 19, 21: "And we have the word of prophecy made more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the daystar arise in your hearts: . . . For no prophecy ever came by the will of man: but men spake from God, being moved

by the Holy Ghost"; cf. 1 Peter i. 10-12: "Concerning which salvation the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what time or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them. To whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto you, did they minister these things, which now have been announced unto you through them that preached the gospel unto you by the Holy Ghost sent forth from heaven; which things angels desire to look into." ii. 1: "denying even the Master that bought them"; cf. 1 Peter i. 18, 19: "knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ." ii. 5: "and spared not the ancient world, but preserved Noah with seven others, a preacher of righteousness, when he brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly"; iii. 6: "by which means the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished"; cf. 1 Peter iii. 20: ". . . when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water." ii. 19: "promising them liberty, while they themselves are bondservants of corruption; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he also brought into bondage"; cf. 1 Peter ii. 16: "as free, and not using your freedom for a cloke of wickedness, but as bondservants of God." iii. 14: "without spot and blameless" (*ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι*); cf. 1 Peter i. 19: "without blemish and without spot" (*ἁμώμον καὶ ἄσπιλον*); cf. 2 Peter ii. 13 (*σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι*). The word *ἀπόθεσις* ("putting off" or "away") is also peculiar to these epistles (1 Peter iii. 21; 2 Peter i. 14); so is *ἐπόπτης* ("eye-witness") with its verb (1 Peter ii. 12; iii. 2; 2 Peter i. 16).

frequent use of twofold expressions,¹ and in the marked recurrence in both epistles of the word "holy."² A number of verbal coincidences have also been observed between this epistle and the Gospel of Mark, as well as Peter's speeches in the Book of Acts. They are for the most part such as can only be fully appreciated by a student of the original.³

It has also been found that this epistle, like the First, is distinguished by the use of rare words of a striking and pictorial character, after the manner of Peter, but not borrowed from the First: *e.g.* "whose sentence now from of old *lingereth* not, and their destruction *slumbereth* not," "*turning* the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah *into* ashes," "*enticing* unstedfast souls" (the word translated "entice" meaning literally to *take with a bait*, being such a word as a fisherman would naturally use), "which the ignorant and unstedfast *wrest*, as they do also the other scriptures"—the Greek word for "wrest" meaning to put on the rack, like a criminal, for the purpose of extorting a desired confession.⁴

It is worthy of remark as a note of genuineness that

¹ *E.g.* "precious and exceeding great," "not idle nor unfruitful," &c., i. 4, 8, 9, 19; ii. 3, 10, 13, &c.

² ἅγιος applied in 1 Peter to "priesthood" (ii. 5); "nation" (ii. 9); "women" (iii. 5); and in 2 Peter to "mount" (i. 18); "commandment" (ii. 21); "prophets" (iii. 2); "living" (iii. 11).

³ The following are peculiar to this epistle and the Gospel of Mark: δωρέομαι = "grant" (i. 3 and xv. 45); βασανίζω in a metaphorical sense = "vex," "distress" (ii. 8 and vi. 48); λαίλαψ = "storm" (ii. 17 and iv. 37). The word τρέμειν = "tremble," which is uncommon in the New Testament, occurs in 2 Peter ii. 10 and Mark v. 33. The coincidences with Peter's speeches, or with narratives closely related to him, in the Book of Acts are still more numerous: *e.g.* λαγχάνειν in the sense of "obtain" or "receive" is found in 2 Peter (i. 1) and Acts (i. 17), and nowhere else in the New Testament. So with λαλεῖν = "speak" as applied to God's word

(i. 21 and iii. 21); εὐσεβής = "godly" or "devout" (ii. 9 and x. 2, 7); φθέγγεσθαι = "speak" or "utter" (ii. 16, 18 and iv. 18); μισθὸς (τῆς) ἀδικίας = "reward of (his) iniquity" or "hire of wrong-doing" (ii. 13, 15 and Acts i. 18); κολάζειν = "to punish" (ii. 9 and iv. 21). For full information on this and other aspects of the subject, see Dr Lumby's articles in the *Expositor*, Vol. IV., and in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Vol. IV.; also Dr Salmon's *Introduction*, Chap. xxv., where Abbot's theory of indebtedness on the part of this epistle to Josephus is refuted.

⁴ ii. 3 (οὐκ ἄργεῖ, οὐ νυστάζει), 6 (τεφρώσας), 14, 18 (δελεάζοντες); iii. 16 (στρεβλοῦσιν); *cf.* μυωπάων, "seeing only what is near," literally, having the eyes shut (i. 9); φωσφόρος, "day-star," literally, light-bearer (i. 19); πλάστοις, "feigned," literally, that can be moulded (ii. 3); ροιζηδόν, "with a great noise" (iii. 10).

although the writer was evidently acquainted with the First Epistle,¹ he does not copy its designation of the apostle, as a forger might have been expected to do, nor does he attach the same address to the epistle,² nor conclude with the same doxology.³ Similarly, when he mentions the words spoken by the voice from heaven at the Transfiguration, he does not give them exactly as they are reported in the Gospels; and, in immediate connection with the Transfiguration, he makes use of two words, namely "tabernacle" and "decease," that would naturally be associated in Peter's mind with the memory of that great incident.⁴ In his use of the expression in the same passage, "even as our Lord Jesus Christ signified unto me," we may trace an allusion to our Lord's prophecy of Peter's death recorded by John;⁵ and in the recurrence of the word "stablish," under a variety of forms, we have an illustration of the same retrospective tendency, which may be discerned also in the First

¹ iii. 1: "This is now, beloved, the second epistle that I write unto you; and in both of them I stir up your sincere mind by putting you in remembrance."

² i. 1: "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained a like precious faith with us in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ"; 1 Peter i. 1: "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

³ iii. 18: "To him be the glory both now and for ever"; cf. 1 Peter v. 11: "To him be the dominion for ever and ever."

⁴ σκηνώματος; ἔξοδον. i. 14-18: "knowing that the putting off of my *tabernacle* cometh swiftly, even as our Lord Jesus Christ signified unto me. Yea, I will give diligence that at every time ye may be able after my *decease* to call these things to remembrance. For we did not follow cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eye-witnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from

the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: and this voice we ourselves heard come out of heaven, when we were with him in the holy mount"; cf. Luke ix. 30-35: "And behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elijah; who appeared in glory, and spake of his *decease* which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem. Now Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: but when they were fully awake, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him. And it came to pass, as they were parting from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three *tabernacles*; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah: not knowing what he said. And while he said these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my Son, my chosen: hear ye him"; Matt. xvii. 5: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him"; Mark ix. 7: "This is my beloved Son: hear ye him."

⁵ John xxi. 18, 19.

Epistle,—the reference, in this case, being probably to his Lord's injunction: "when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren."¹

2. *The Readers.*

This epistle bears to be addressed to the same readers as the First.²

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

We may regard it as certain that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Otherwise such an impressive instance of divine judgment could scarcely have been left unnoticed in alluding to the retributive justice of God.³

At the same time the errors and dangers described in this epistle, which bear a strong resemblance, in some respects, to those referred to in the Pastoral Epistles, prove that it could not have been written much sooner than 70 A.D.⁴ The allusion to Paul's epistles as known to his readers⁵ leads to the same conclusion, as does also the frequency of the expression "put in remem-

¹ Luke xxii. 32 (στήρισον). *cf.* 2 Peter i. 12: "Wherefore I shall be ready always to put you in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and are *established* in the truth which is with you"; iii. 16, 17: "... wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and *unstedfast* wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction. . . . beware lest, being carried away with the error of the wicked, ye fall from your own *stedfastness*."

² iii. 1: "This is now, beloved, the second epistle that I write unto you"; *cf.* i. 16, which seems to imply that the writer had himself preached to them; and iii. 15, which assumes an acquaintance with Paul's Epistles.

³ It follows from this that, if the First Epistle was not written till after 70 A.D., this epistle must be a forgery.

⁴ *Cf.* i. 16, 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7; ii. 3, 1 Tim. vi. 5, Tit. i. 11; ii. 10, 2 Tim. iii. 1-4.

⁵ iii. 15, 16: "And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also,

according to the wisdom given to him, wrote unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstedfast wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction." The terms in which St. Paul is here referred to bear the stamp of the apostolic age as compared, for example, with the language of Polycarp, when he alludes to "the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul." Similarly, a comparison of 2 Peter ii. 15 with Rev. ii. 14, 15 (where the offenders referred to are definitely styled "Nicolaitans") betokens the earlier date of the Epistle. Perhaps "the way of the truth" (ii. 2: "by reason of whom the way of the truth shall be evil spoken of"; *cf.* vers. 15, 21), which resembles so closely expressions in the Book of Acts (*e.g.* xix. 9: "But when some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude") may also be regarded in a similar light. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the manner in which the epistles of Paul

brance" and kindred words, which indicate an advanced period in the apostolic age, as well as in the life of Peter —assuming that he was the writer.¹

Like the First Epistle, this was probably written from Rome; but the use of the apostle's Hebrew name of Symeon, in the opening verse (R.V. margin), as well as the connection of this epistle with that of Jude, would seem to indicate a Palestinian influence of some sort, possibly in the person of Peter's amanuensis or secretary. (*Cf.* p. 245, *note* 1.)

4. *Character and Contents.*

This epistle, unlike the First, is full of denunciation and warning. It was designed to put its readers on their guard against false teachers, who were "enticing unstedfast souls," "promising them liberty, while they themselves are bond-servants of corruption."² In opposition to their immoral doctrines it inculcates a steady and persevering endeavour after holiness as the only way to advance in true knowledge and secure an entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.³ In particular, the writer seeks to confute the arguments and counteract the influence of certain scoffers who made light of the Second Coming, as if it were a vain delusion, and appealed to the constancy of Nature as a warrant for their unbelief.⁴ The delay of the divine judgment the writer attributes to the fact that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," alleging the delay to be a proof of God's mercy and long-suffering. The destruction of the world in the days of Noah is cited as an act of divine judgment analogous to that which is to take place at the end of the world, when the destroying element, however, shall be not water but fire. From the dread catastrophe there shall arise "new heavens and a new

are referred to in the above passage, as if they were on a level with "the other scriptures" (*τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*), forms one of the strongest objections to the genuineness of the Epistle.

¹ i. 12, 13, 15; iii. 1, 2.

² Chap. ii.

³ i. 3-11.

⁴ Chap. iii.

earth wherein dwelleth righteousness," for which Christians ought to be preparing; and the epistle concludes much in the same way as it commenced, by a call to "grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The intrinsic worth of the epistle is well expressed by Calvin when he says, "the majesty of the Spirit of Christ exhibits itself in every part of the epistle."

"THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JUDE."

I. *Authorship.*

"Judas, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." It may be regarded as certain that the James, whom the writer here claims as his brother, was the well-known head of the Church at Jerusalem, one of our Lord's brethren, and the writer of the epistle that bears his name.¹ Jude is therefore not to be identified with any of the apostles of the same name mentioned in the Gospels. Had he been an apostle he would doubtless have claimed the title, instead of being content to call himself "the brother of James." Regarding Jude personally we know little or nothing, but an interesting tradition concerning two of his grandsons has been preserved by Hegesippus. That historian (as quoted by Eusebius) tells how the Emperor Domitian, being moved with jealousy, sent for these two kinsmen of our Lord to inquire of them regarding the kingdom to which they aspired. When he learned from them that they were merely peasant proprietors farming a few acres of land in Palestine, and saw their hands horny with constant labour, and when they told him further that the kingdom to which they looked forward was not of this

¹ Cf. pp. 221-3. Matt. xiii. 55: "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas?" Mark vi. 3: "Is not this the

carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us? And they were offended in him."

world, but to be revealed when Christ came to judge the quick and the dead, his alarm was removed, and he allowed them to depart in peace. Tradition tells that they lived to the reign of Trajan, honoured by the Church for their confession and for their relation to the Lord.

The obscurity of Jude himself is a strong argument for the genuineness of the epistle, as a forger would have chosen some more distinguished name to associate with his work. Its marked individuality also, exhibiting so many unusual features, by which it is distinguished from all the other books of the New Testament, except 2 Peter, is against the supposition of forgery. Although it is reckoned by Eusebius among the "disputed" books, we find it expressly quoted by Clement of Alexandria in the end of the second century, and recognised as canonical by Tertullian a few years later. It has also a place in the Muratorian Canon; but is absent from the Syriac Version.¹

2. *The Readers.*

On this subject we are left to conjecture. Considering the Jewish features of the book and the Jewish character of its author, it would seem probable that it was written for Christians in Palestine, but not to any particular Church, as it contains no special salutations or messages.²

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

Regarding the place of writing we have no direct information, but all the circumstances point to Palestine as its source. From the absence of any allusion to the

¹A sentence in the *Didache* (see Appendix p. 282) seems to be an echo of one of its verses; and words or phrases have been discovered in several other writings of the first or early part of the second century that may have been suggested by it (*cf. Didache* ii. 7 with ver. 22). The brevity of the epistle and its being specially designed for Jewish Christians would go far to account for its being so little quoted in the first two centuries.

²The designation which the writer gives himself—Judas, the "*brother of James*" was well-fitted to command the attention of the Jewish converts owing to the deep reverence in which James was held by his countrymen. All through the epistle the writer assumes an acquaintance, on the part of his readers, with Jewish history and literature.

destruction of Jerusalem we may infer that it was written prior to that event; but here, as in 2 Peter, the evils with which the epistle deals preclude us from giving it a much earlier date. As an approximation we may name 65-68 A.D.¹

4. *Character and Contents.*

This epistle, consisting of a single chapter, bears a very striking likeness to the second chapter of 2 Peter, so much so that we may conclude with confidence that the one was borrowed from the other.² As this epistle has certain features of originality about it which the other lacks, we

¹ The opinion held by some that there is here a reference to Gnostic errors of the second century is not well-founded. The evils were mainly of a practical nature, and had recently appeared (ver. 4, cf. 22, 23); and a similar antinonian tendency had shown itself in St. Paul's time (cf. Rom. vi.; 1 Cor. v. 1-11; 2 Cor. xii. 21; Gal. v. 13; Eph. v. 3; 1 Thess. iv. 6). The readers are also addressed as contemporaries of the Apostles who had heard the words (*ρῆματα*) spoken by them. Vers. 17, 18: "But ye, beloved, remember ye the words which have been spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they said to you, In the last time there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts." It also seems to be implied in the statement of Hegesippus above referred to that Jude was dead before the reign of Domitian (81 A.D.).

² The great similarity will at once be seen on a comparison of the following parallel passages:—Jude 4=2 Peter ii. 1: "For there are certain men crept in privily, even they who were of old set forth unto this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ," "But there arose false prophets also among the people, as among you also there shall be false teachers, who shall privily bring in destructive heresies, denying even the Master that bought them, bringing upon themselves swift destruction"; 6=ii. 4: "And angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in

everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgement of the great day," "For if God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them down to hell, and committed them to pits of darkness, to be reserved unto judgement"; 7=ii. 6: "Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them, having in like manner with these given themselves over to fornication, and gone after strange flesh, as set forth as an example, suffering the punishment of eternal fire," "and turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, having made them an example unto those that should live ungodly"; 8=ii. 10: "Yet in like manner these also in their dreamings defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities," "but chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of defilement, and despise dominion. Daring, selfwilled they tremble not to rail at dignities"; 9=ii. 11: "But Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgement, but said, The Lord rebuke thee," "whereas angels, though greater in might and power, bring not a railing judgement against them before the Lord"; 10=ii. 12: "But these rail at whatsoever things they know not: and what they understand naturally, like the creatures without reason, in these things are they destroyed," "But these, as creatures without reason, born mere animals to be taken and destroyed, railing in matters whereof they are ignorant, shall in their destroying surely be de-

may infer that St. Peter and not Jude was the borrower.¹ It is quite possible, however, that the Epistle of Jude may itself be the translation of an Aramaic original—judging, for example, from its fondness for threefold expressions.²

The Epistle is remarkable for several allusions to matters of ancient history that are not recorded in the Old Testament. It contains a quotation from an apocryphal book of Enoch, and one of its illustrations, Origen tells us, was derived from a book called "The Assumption of Moses," only about a third part of which, in the form of a Latin version, has been preserved to us.³ These allusions are

stroyed"; 11=ii. 13, 15: "Woe unto them! for they went in the way of Cain, and ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire, and perished in the gainsaying of Korah," "Suffering wrong as the hire of wrong-doing, . . . forsaking the right way, they went astray, having followed the way of Balaam the son of Beor, who loved the hire of wrong-doing"; 12=ii. 13: "These are they who are hidden rocks in your love-feasts when they feast with you, shepherds that without fear feed themselves"; "Men that count it pleasure to revel in the day-time, spots and blemishes, reveling in their love-feasts while they feast with you"; 12, 13=ii. 17: "Clouds without water, carried along by winds; autumn trees without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots; wild waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever," "These are springs without water, and mists driven by a storm; for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved"; 16=ii. 18: "These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their lusts (and their mouth speaketh great swelling words), shewing respect of persons for the sake of advantage," "For, uttering great swelling words of vanity, they entice in the lusts of the flesh, by lasciviousness, those who are just escaping from them that live in error"; 17=iii. 2: "But ye, beloved, remember ye the words which have been spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ," "That ye should remember the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your apostles"; 18=iii. 3:

"How that they said to you, In the last time there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts," "Knowing this first, that in the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts."

¹ *E.g.* Jude 9 (quoted above); cf. 2 Peter ii. 11 (quoted above), which would be unintelligible to us but for the light afforded by the more definite statement of Jude. Similarly the sin of "angels which kept not their own principality" is brought out in Jude 6, 7, in connection with the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah, as it is not in 2 Peter ii. 4-6. The incorporation of the shorter epistle in the longer is also more natural than the republication of an extract from 2 Peter (with a few additional verses) by one whose name would give it far less weight than that which it had hitherto borne. The freshness and vigour of style of the Epistle of Jude, as compared with the occasional amplification and attempted improvement (in the way of softening strong features and modifying unusual expressions) which can be traced in 2 Peter, lead to the same conclusion. On the ethics of Apostolic borrowing, see Salmon's *Introduction*, 5th edition, p. 493.

² Ver. 1: "To them that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ"; 8: "Defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities"; 11: "The way of Cain, . . . the error of Balaam, . . . the gainsaying of Korah," &c.

³ Vers. 14, 15: "And to these also Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, Behold, the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute judgement upon all, and to con-

not more at variance with the doctrine of Inspiration than the quotations in the Old Testament from the "Book of Jasher," and other such documents, or Paul's allusions to "Jannes and Jambres," or his quotations from heathen writers.¹ In 2 Peter, however, these quotations almost disappear, and there is also an omission of one or two seeming references to Levitical uncleanness, as if the writer desired to adapt his epistle as far as possible for general use.²

This epistle is full of sharp and stern denunciation, aimed at practical evils of a most heinous character, committed by men who were "turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ."³ These evils were founded upon a gross abuse of Christian liberty, and were somewhat similar to the terrible excesses which broke out among the Anabaptists after the Protestant Reformation, resulting from the abuse of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, when professing Christians combined the guilt of Cain (bloodshed), of Balaam (seduction), and of Korah (insubordination).⁴ In view of the corruption both of faith and manners

vict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him"; ver. 9: "But Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgement, but said, The Lord rebuke thee." Jerome mentions that the quotation from the Book of Enoch had led many to reject the Epistle; but Tertullian thought the Book of Enoch itself should be received as canonical, although rejected by the Jews. Several copies of an Ethiopic version of this book were brought from Abyssinia by the traveller Bruce in 1773, of which an English translation was published in 1821, and a German translation in 1853, enabling us to identify the passage quoted by Jude; and recently a large part of it in Greek has been discovered in Egypt. Its original composition (possibly in Hebrew) is generally assigned to the century preceding the Christian era. It is largely a work of

imagination, of a desultory kind. The *Assumption of Moses* is cited by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others. The extant portion does not extend to the death of Moses, and therefore does not contain the incident referred to by Jude.

¹ Joshua x. 13, &c.; 2 Tim. iii. 8; Titus i. 12; Acts xvii. 28.

² Vers. 8 and 23.

³ Vers. 3, 4: "Beloved, while I was giving all diligence to write unto you of our common salvation, I was constrained to write unto you exhorting you to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in privily, even they who were of old set forth unto this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ."

⁴ Ver. 11: "Woe unto them! for they went in the way of Cain, and ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire, and perished in the gainsaying of Korah." "The persons whom St. Jude

that was thus beginning to infect the Church, Jude exhorts his readers to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints," and appeals to the past history of God's judgments for proof of the punishment in store for the present offenders, whom he commends nevertheless to the compassion and care of their believing brethren.

The Epistle concludes with one of the most beautiful doxologies to be found in the New Testament.¹

so vehemently denounces find their exact analogue in the days of the Reformation. They are the invariable product of an epoch of religious ferment and excitement. Their abuse of the preaching of St. Paul exactly resembles the abuse of Luther's preaching by men like Storch and Matthys and Rothman and even Carlstadt. Such men would have been denounced equally by Judæo-Christians like James and Jude, or by St. Peter, or by St. Paul himself, just as the Anabaptists were by men like Cardinal Cajetan, or like Erasmus, or like Luther. . . . The Epistle of St. Jude draws a picture which might be applied line by line, and word by word, to the obscure wretches (*ἀνθρώποι*

τινές)—the Bochelons, and Knipperdollings, the Krechtings and Hoffmans, the Stübners, and Münzers—of the years 1521 to 1535; and something of Jude's own tone rings through the eight sermons which Luther preached at Wittenberg on the days after his return to that city in 1522." — Farrar, *Messages of the Books*, p. 456.

² Vers. 24, 25: "Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and for ever. Amen." — A.V. Cf. Rom. xvi. 25-27.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1, 2, AND 3 JOHN.

"THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF JOHN."

1. *Authorship.*

THIS epistle was used by two of the Fathers who had been disciples of the Apostle John, viz., Polycarp and Papias. It was recognised and quoted as John's by Irenæus, who had been a disciple of Polycarp, and it was evidently known by the writer of the *Letter to Diognetus*. It is freely quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, is referred to in the Muratorian Fragment, and is one of the books contained in the Syriac, as well as in the Old Latin Version.

Its *internal* character is such as to confirm us in the belief that it was written by the author of the Fourth Gospel. Not only has it many verbal similarities,¹ but it

¹ *E.g.* i. 1: "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life"; cf. John i. 1, 14: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father), full of grace and truth"; xx. 27: "Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and see my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and put it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing." i. 2: "(and the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life,

the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us)"; cf. John iii. 11: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness." i. 3: "that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ"; cf. John xvii. 21: "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me." i. 4: "and these things we write, that our joy may be fulfilled"; cf. John xvi. 24: "Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: ask, and

is dominated by the same Christian idealism which refers all things in human life to the ultimate principles of light and darkness, truth and error, good and evil, love and hatred, life and death, God and the devil. So intimate is the connection between the two books that the epistle was regarded by the late Bishop Lightfoot and others as forming a postscript to the Gospel.¹

2. *The Readers.*²

In all probability it was addressed in the first instance

ye shall receive, that your joy may be fulfilled." i. 5, 6: "And this is the message which we have heard from him, and announce unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in the darkness, we lie, and do not the truth"; cf. John i. 5: "And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness apprehended it not"; iii. 21: "But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest, that they have been wrought in God"; viii. 12: "Again therefore Jesus spake unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have the light of life." ii. 11: "But he that hateth his brother is in the darkness, and walketh in the darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes"; cf. John xii. 35: "Jesus therefore said unto them, Yet a little while is the light among you. Walk while ye have the light, that darkness overtake you not: and he that walketh in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth." iii. 14: "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not abideth in death"; cf. John v. 24: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgement, but hath passed out of death into life." iv. 9: "Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him"; cf. John i. 14: "And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father), full of grace and truth"; iii. 16: "For God so loved the world,

that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life." iv. 14: "And we have beheld and bear witness that the Father hath sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world"; cf. John iv. 42: "and they said to the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy speaking: for we have heard for ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world." v. 6: "This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood"; cf. John xix. 34: "howbeit one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and straightway there came out blood and water."

¹ Prof. Ramsay says: "No two works in the whole range of literature show clearer signs of the genius of one writer, and no other pair of works are so completely in a class by themselves, apart from the work of their own and every other time. One work alone stands near them, the Apocalypse; and while identity of authorship is very far from being so clear, as in the case of the Gospel and Epistle, yet there is a closer relation between the three works than exists between any of them and any fourth work. We must expect to find a close connection in time and circumstances of origin between the First Epistle and the Apocalypse" (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 303).

² Augustine and other Latin writers speak of the epistle as addressed to the *Parthians*, but this was probably a mistake occasioned by the Greek term *παρθένος* ("virgin"), which was frequently applied to the Apostle John, in allusion to his supposed lifelong celibacy, or it may have arisen from the Second Epistle being addressed in some MSS. *πρὸς παρθένους*.

to the Churches of Asia, among whom the Apostle John spent the latter part of his life. The closing exhortation: "My little children, guard yourselves from idols," would have special significance in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, which was a great stronghold of idolatry; and the absence of allusions to the Old Testament bears out the supposition that the epistle was addressed to converts from heathenism. Although there is no salutation either at the beginning or the end, and no personal or historical allusions such as would have been likely to occur if it had been a letter addressed to *an individual Church*, yet the writer speaks in a quiet tone of authority as if he were well-known to his readers and expected that his words would command respect. He addresses them in terms of affection, and writes as if he were well acquainted with their dangers and their needs.¹

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

It was probably written in the same city as tradition assigns to the Gospel, viz., Ephesus; and about the same time—85 A.D., or a few years later. It takes the Gospel for granted, and in certain passages the tone of its language is such as would befit an aged apostle addressing men of a later generation.²

4. *Character and Contents.*

In this epistle—probably the last inspired utterance of the New Testament excepting the two brief missives that

¹ *E.g.* ii. 7: "Beloved, no new commandment write I unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning: the old commandment is the word which ye heard"; iii. 13: "Marvel not, brethren, if the world hateth you"; iv. 7: "Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God."

² "My little children," ii. 1, 12, &c. "Perhaps we can best look at the writing not as a Letter called out by

any particular circumstances, but as a Pastoral addressed to those who had been carefully trained and had lived long in the Faith; and, more particularly, to those who were familiar either with the teaching contained in the Fourth Gospel or with the record itself. The substance of the Gospel is a commentary on the Epistle: the Epistle is (so to speak) the condensed moral and practical application of the Gospel."—Westcott on *The Epistles of St. John*.

follow it—we have the translation into the *Christian life* of those great truths, regarding the fellowship of God with man, that are found in the fourth Gospel in connection with the life and ministry of *Jesus Christ*. That Gospel, as we have seen, is doctrinal as well as historical, but its doctrines are here applied to the lives of Christ's followers. The Epistle is thus in advance of the Gospel, being designed to lead Christians to a *conscious realisation* of the new life to which they are called in fellowship with Christ—a life transcending and vanquishing that of the world.¹

Its thought springs mainly out of a twofold conception of the Divine Nature as "*light*," and as "*love*," united by a bond of *righteousness*.² There is no laboured argument such as we find in some of Paul's epistles, but simply an appeal to first principles that are to be seen with the spiritual eye, not to be proved by means of logic.³

Although lofty and spiritual, the teaching in the epistle is at the same time intensely *practical*. It was evidently intended to counteract the growing tendency to magnify knowledge at the expense of practice.⁴ One form of this

¹ i. 4: "and these things we write, that our joy may be fulfilled"; v. 12, 13: "He that hath the Son hath the life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life. These things have I written unto you, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, even unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God"; v. 4, 5: "For whatsoever is begotten of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith. And who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" Cf. John xx. 31: "But these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His name." "According to his view, which answers to the eternal order of things, the world exists indeed, but more as a semblance than as a reality. It is overcome finally and for ever. It is on the point of vanishing. This outward consummation is in God's hands. And over against 'the world' there is the Church, the organised Chris-

tian society, the depository of the Truth, and the witness for the Truth. By this, therefore, all that need be done to proclaim the Gospel to those without is done naturally and effectively in virtue of its very existence. It must overcome the darkness by shining. There is therefore no need for eager exhortation to spread the word. St. Paul wrote while the conflict was undecided: St. John has seen its close" (Westcott).

² i.—ii.28; ii.29—iv.6; iv.7—v.

³ iv. 6: "We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us; he who is not of God heareth us not. By this we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error."

⁴ i. 6, 7: "If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in the darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin"; ii. 3-6: "And hereby know we that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth

incipient Gnosticism was associated with the name of *Cerinthus*, who lived at Ephesus in the time of the apostle. Cerinthus, like many others, denied the *reality* of Christ's humanity,¹ maintaining, in particular, that the Divine Being only entered into the man Jesus at his Baptism and left him on the eve of his Passion. Hence the emphatic statement of the apostle, "This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood,"—implying that the Saviour fulfilled His divine mission in His *death* upon the cross as well as in His baptism.² Again and again, in other passages, the apostle insists on the reality of the union between Jesus and the Christ, as an essential element of the Christian faith.

While it gives no quarter to evil and falsehood, the epistle overflows with exhortations to the love of God and man.⁴ As we read the apostle's language here, we find it

not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him: but whoso keepeth his word, in him verily hath the love of God been perfected. Hereby know we that we are in him: he that saith he abideth in him ought himself also to walk even as he walked"; iii. 6-10: "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither knoweth him. My little children, let no man lead you astray: he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous: he that doeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. To this end was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother."

¹ Hence called *Docete* from a Greek word meaning *apparent*, not real.

² v. 6.

³ ii. 18, 22: "Little children, it is the last hour: and as ye heard that antichrist cometh, even now have there arisen many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last hour. . . .

Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? This is the antichrist, even he that denieth the Father and the Son"; iv. 2, 3, 15: "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God: and this is the spirit of the antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it cometh; and now it is in the world already. . . . Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God"; v. 1, 5: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God: . . . And who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" Cf. i. 1-4.

⁴ ii. 9-11: "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in the darkness, and walketh in the darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes"; iii. 11-18: "For this is the message which ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another: not as Cain was of the evil one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew

easy to believe the story told of him by Jerome, that when he was too old to preach he used to be carried to church simply to repeat in the hearing of the congregation, "Little children, love one another." And when some one asked him, "Master, why dost thou always speak thus?" he answered, "Because it is the Lord's command; and if only this be done, it is enough."

"THE SECOND EPISTLE OF JOHN."

I. *Authorship.*

The *external* evidence for the genuineness of this epistle is not so convincing as in the case of the one that we have just been considering; but this is easily accounted

he him? Because his works were evil, and his brother's righteous. Marvel not, brethren, if the world hateth you. We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not abideth in death. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. But whoso hath the world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him? My little children, let us not love in word, neither with the tongue; but in deed and truth"; iv. 7-13, 16-21: "Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one

another. No man hath beheld God at any time: if we love one another, God abideth in us, and his love is perfected in us: hereby know we that we abide in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit. . . . And we know and have believed the love which God hath in us. God is love; and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him. Herein is love made perfect with us, that we may have boldness in the day of judgement; because as he is, even so are we in this world. There is no fear in love: but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath punishment; and he that feareth is not made perfect in love. We love, because he first loved us. If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen. And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also"; v. 1, 2: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God: and whosoever loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him. Hereby we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and do his commandments."

for by its brevity and its being less suitable for public reading in church. At the same time, it is expressly quoted by Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, and is mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment. It appears also to have been acknowledged by Eusebius, although he placed it among the disputed books. With regard to *internal* evidence, it has all the appearance of being genuine. Like the Third Epistle it bears to be written by "the elder," a designation which implies that the writer was a well-known personage in the Church. Papias applies the name of "elders" specially to the surviving disciples of the Lord, as men of a past generation,—so that there was a certain appropriateness in John so describing himself, as the last of the apostles.¹ An imitator who wished to pass for John would have made his claim in more distinct terms; and the contents of the Epistle are such that no reasonable motive can be assigned for forgery.

The genuineness of this epistle derives considerable support also from its strong resemblance to the First,—no less than seven of its thirteen verses having something parallel in the other.²

¹ ὁ πρεσβύτερος; cf. Peter's use of the expression "fellow-elder" (ὁ συν-πρεσβύτερος) as applied to himself (1 Pet. v. 1). Jerome refers to an opinion current in his day that the Second and Third Epistles were not written by the Apostle but by "John the Presbyter" mentioned by Papias in a passage preserved by Eusebius. But it is not at all clear from the words of Papias that any such person ever existed, and the designation which the writer here applies to himself could only have been used by a person of outstanding position in the Church. (See, on Papias, Appendix, p. 281.)

² Ver. 1: "The elder unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in truth; and not I only, but also all they that know the truth"; cf. 1 John iii. 18: "My little children, let us not love in word, neither with the tongue; but in deed and truth." 4: "I rejoice greatly that I have found certain of

thy children walking in truth, even as we received commandment from the Father"; cf. 1 John iv. 21: "And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also." 5: "And now I beseech thee, lady, not as though I wrote to thee a new commandment, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another"; cf. 1 John ii. 7: "Beloved, no new commandment write I unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning: the old commandment is the word which ye heard." 6: "And this is love, that we should walk after his commandments. This is the commandment, even as ye heard from the beginning, that ye should walk in it"; cf. 1 John v. 3: "For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous." 7: "For many deceivers are gone forth into the world, even they that confess

2. *The Readers.*

"Unto the elect lady and her children." It is a question whether these words are to be taken literally, or in a figurative sense as the designation of a Church and its members. On the whole the latter seems the more probable, in view of expressions occurring in a number of the verses.¹ Such figurative language need not surprise us in the case of a writer so fond of symbolism as the author of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel.² But which of the Churches in Asia is thus addressed we have no means of knowing.

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

It was probably written from Ephesus,—subsequently to the First Epistle.

4. *Character and Contents.*

While the Epistle contains expressions of warm affection for the members of the Church in question (whom the apostle appears to have recently visited), its main object is to warn them against the insidious and corrupting

not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist"; 1 John iv. 1-3: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God: and this is the spirit of the antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it cometh; and now it is in the world already." 9: "Whosoever goeth onward and abideth not in the teaching of Christ, hath not God: he that abideth in the teaching, the same hath both the Father and the Son"; cf. 1 John ii. 23: "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father:

he that confesseth the Son hath the Father also." 12: "Having many things to write unto you, I would not write them with paper and ink: but I hope to come unto you, and to speak face to face, that your joy may be fulfilled"; cf. 1 John i. 4: "and these things we write, that our joy may be fulfilled."

¹ Vers. 1, 4, 5 (quoted above); 10: "If any one cometh unto you, and bringeth not this teaching, receive him not into your house, and give him no greeting"; 13: "The children of thine elect sister salute thee."

² Cf. Peter's use of a similar expression with reference, probably, to the Church in Rome: "She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you" (1 Pet. v. 13).

influence of certain *heretical teachers* who were going about denying the reality of Christ's humanity.¹ The apostle urges an uncompromising opposition to all such teachers, in terms that remind us of the story told by Irenæus on the authority of those who had received it from Polycarp, that finding Cerinthus in a public bath, the apostle rushed out at the sight of him, exclaiming, "Let us fly lest even the bath fall on us, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within,"—a speech that betrays a lingering of the spirit that had once been rebuked by his Lord.² On the other hand, the blending of love with truth³ in the earlier part of the epistle is equally characteristic of the disciple "whom Jesus loved"; and it finds similar illustration in the beautiful story of "St. John and the Robber."⁴

"THE THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN."

1. *Authorship.*

If we admit the Second Epistle to be the work of John, we can have no difficulty in accepting this also as his. The two epistles have been aptly termed "*twins*";⁵ and

¹ Ver. 7: "For many deceivers are gone forth into the world, even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist."

² Luke ix. 54: "And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them?"

³ The word "love" (ἀγάπη) occurs four times in this short epistle, and its verb twice; "truth" (ἀλήθεια) five times.

⁴ The story is told by Eusebius (iii. 33). The apostle John had left in charge of the local bishop a promising young man who was duly baptized and instructed. On his return he surprised the bishop by asking for his "deposit," adding, in explanation of his words, "I

demand the young man, the soul of a brother." Thereupon the bishop had to confess that the young man had gone astray and become a robber-chief. The apostle immediately called for a horse and made his way to the haunts of the robber, who fled at his approach. The apostle pursued and overtook him, and by his persuasions and tears induced him to give up his evil life and return to his old home, to be restored to the Church.

⁵ Ver. 1: "The elder unto Gaius the beloved, whom I love in truth"; cf. 2 John 1: "The elder unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in truth; and not I only, but also all they that know the truth." 3, 4: "For I rejoiced greatly, when brethren came and bare witness unto thy truth, even as

the contents of this epistle are so peculiar in their bearing on the position and the authority of the apostle, as to preclude the idea of forgery.

2. *The Reader.*

"Unto Gaius the beloved." The name *Gaius* occurs several times in the New Testament;¹ but whether the receiver of this letter is to be identified with any of those who are elsewhere so called it is impossible to say, the name being a very common one. He is addressed as a faithful and liberal member of the Church.²

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

Like the Second this epistle was probably written from Ephesus,—subsequently to the First.

4. *Character and Contents.*

This epistle, like the Second, gives us a momentary glimpse of Church life in Asia towards the close of the first century. While the Second contains a warning against *heresy*, this relates rather to the evil of *schism*. It

thou walkest in truth. Greater joy have I none than this, to hear of my children walking in the truth"; *cf.* 2 John 4: "I rejoice greatly that I have found certain of thy children walking in truth, even as we received commandment from the Father." 13: "I had many things to write unto thee, but I am unwilling to write them to thee with ink and pen"; *cf.* 2 John 12: "Having many things to write unto you, I would not write them with paper and ink: but I hope to come unto you, and to speak face to face, that your joy may be fulfilled."

¹ Acts xix. 29; xx. 4; Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14.

² Vers. 1-8: "The elder unto Gaius the beloved, whom I love in truth.

Beloved, I pray that in all things thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth. For I rejoiced greatly, when brethren came and bare witness unto thy truth, even as thou walkest in truth. Greater joy have I none than this, to hear of my children walking in the truth. Beloved, thou doest a faithful work in whatsoever thou doest toward them that are brethren and strangers withal; who bare witness to thy love before the church: whom thou wilt do well to set forward on their journey worthily of God: because that for the sake of the Name they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles. We therefore ought to welcome such, that we may be fellow-workers with the truth."

shows us the practical difficulties which even the Apostle John had to encounter in the government of the Church. In Gaius (the recipient of the letter) we have a sincere and charitable Christian whose influence and example John invokes in opposition to the factious and intolerant conduct of an ambitious ecclesiastic named Diotrephes, who had gone so far as to close his doors on "the brethren" who had come in the apostle's name, apparently bearing a letter from him—perhaps our Second Epistle.¹ The aged head of the Church in Asia feels that it will be necessary, the next time he visits the district, to hold a reckoning with the offender for his malice and presumption. Meanwhile he warns Gaius against being led astray by the example of Diotrephes; and in pleasing contrast with the latter he refers to one Demetrius—apparently the bearer of this letter—who "hath the witness of all men, and of the truth itself."² Finally the apostle pleads the same excuse for his brevity as he does in the case of the Second Epistle, viz., that he hopes soon to visit his readers, when they "shall speak face to face."

¹ Vers. 9, 10: "I wrote somewhat unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preeminence among them, receiveth us not. Therefore, if I come, I will bring to remembrance his works which he doeth, prating against us with wicked words: and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and them that would he forbiddeth, and casteth them out of the church."

² "Another point which deserves notice is the view which is given of the independence of Christian societies.

Diotrephes in no remote corner is able for a time to withstand an Apostle in the administration of his particular Church. On the other side, the calm confidence of St. John seems to rest on himself more than on his official power. His presence will vindicate his authority. Once more, the growth of the Churches is as plainly marked as their independence. The first place in them has become an object of unworthy ambition. They are able, and as it appears, for the most part willing to maintain missionary teachers" (Westcott).

CHAPTER XXIV.

"THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE."

I. *Authorship.*

THERE is very strong external evidence to prove that this book was written by the Apostle John. Passing over some earlier apparent witnesses, we find unmistakable mention of it in the writings of Justin Martyr. He expressly refers to it as the work of the apostle, in the Dialogue which he held with Trypho, an unbelieving Jew, in the very city of Ephesus where John lived, and within half-a-century after his death. Equally clear and explicit is the testimony of Irenæus, who, as we have seen, was a disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. In one passage Irenæus even gives as his authority for preferring 666 to 616 as "the number of the beast," the testimony of those who had seen John face to face.¹ The book is twice mentioned in the Canon of the Muratorian Fragment, once in such a way as to imply that it was publicly read in church; it was one of the books on which Melito, Bishop of Sardis, wrote a commentary (about 170 A.D.); and it is expressly quoted as "the Scripture" in the letter sent by the persecuted Christians of Vienne and Lyons to their brethren in Asia Minor (177 A.D.).

But soon after the middle of the second century the book began to be regarded with suspicion, owing to the use made of it by a heretical party called the Montanists, who indulged in extravagant notions regarding the

¹ xiii. 18: "Here is wisdom. He that hath understanding, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man: and his number is

Six hundred and sixty and six." "Some ancient authorities read *six hundred and sixteen*," Marginal Note, R.V.

“thousand years” of Christ’s reign with His saints which was to take place before the end of the world.¹ The feeling of distrust was strengthened by observing what a marked difference there was in the language and style of the Revelation as compared with the other works ascribed to John; and a considerable amount of controversy took place on the subject. Ultimately, however, the objections were overruled, and the book obtained general acceptance in the Church.

In modern times the controversy has been renewed; and objectors are still disposed to insist, as of old, on the internal marks of a different authorship from that of the fourth Gospel.² In particular, it is pointed out that, whereas the Gospel is written in good Greek, the Revelation is full of grammatical mistakes and eccentricities; so that while there is scarcely anything in the former to show that the writer was other than a Greek, the latter would give us the impression of its having been written by a person who first thought in Hebrew and had afterwards to turn his thoughts into a language with which he was imperfectly acquainted.

To meet this objection the following considerations may be adduced:—

(1) The difference in the nature and contents of the two books; the one being mainly narrative or colloquial, the other being formed on the model of the Old Testament prophets.

(2) The possible effect on the apostle of many years’ residence in Ephesus (if we accept the earlier date assigned to the Apocalypse) in the way of improving his knowledge of Greek.

(3) The unfavourable circumstances under which he appears to have written the Apocalypse, as an exile in Patmos; and the possible employment of a skilled Greek amanuensis in the composition of his Gospel.³

¹ Chap. xx.

² The Tübingen school, however, have generally admitted Revelation to

be the work of the apostle, while rejecting the Fourth Gospel.

³ “Every new investigation diminishes

On the other hand, amid all the diversity between the two books both in ideas and in language, there are not wanting some important features of resemblance, betokening an identity of authorship.

(1) The name "Lamb" is only applied to the Saviour in the Fourth Gospel and in the Revelation, although it is indirectly referred to in 1 Peter and the Book of Acts.¹ In like manner the name "Word" is only applied to the Saviour in the Gospel of John, in the First Epistle of John, and in the Revelation.²

the amount and significance of the difference on the one hand, and on the other renders it more and more clear that its explanation is to be sought in the different requirements of the well-marked types of composition and the divergent mental condition of the writer. The evangelist, dealing freely with his material, takes pains to write better Greek than was customary with him; the seer is overwhelmed with the visions crowding upon him, and finds no other speech fit for their expression than that of the old prophets, and therefore rightly yields himself to a prophetic, antique, Ezekiel-like Hebraizing form of speech" (Ebrard). *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

¹ John i. 29: "Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!" 36: "And he looked upon Jesus as he walked, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God!" Rev. v. 6-13, &c.: "And I saw in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth. And he came, and he taketh it out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having each one a harp, and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a

kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth. And I saw, and I heard a voice of many angels round about the throne and the living creatures and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a great voice, Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every created thing which is in the heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, heard I saying, Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honour, and the glory, and the dominion, for ever and ever"; cf. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19: "knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ"; Acts viii. 32, 35: "Now the place of the scripture which he was reading was this, He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; And as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, So he openeth not his mouth: . . . And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus."

² John i. 1, &c.: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the word was God"; 1 John i. 1: "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life"; Rev. xix. 13: "And he is arrayed in a garment sprinkled with blood: and his name is called The Word of God."

(2) Some of John's favourite expressions, such as, "he that overcometh," "witness" (noun or verb), "keep (my) word," are of frequent occurrence in the Revelation.

(3) In an expression in the first chapter of Revelation we seem to have an echo of the passage in the Fourth Gospel where alone the piercing of our Lord with the spear is recorded, and where there is the same quotation of Zechariah's prophecy—in the same unusual form.¹

(4) The Greek word meaning "true" or "real," in opposition to what is false or spurious, occurs nine times in St. John's Gospel, four times in 1 John, and ten times in the Revelation; but only five times in all the rest of the New Testament.²

(5) The Revelation, like the fourth Gospel, recognises our Lord's pre-eminence and His title to divine honours.³

¹ Rev. i. 7: "Behold, he cometh with the clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they which pierced him; and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn over him. Even so, Amen"; John xix. 34-37: "howbeit one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and straightway there came out blood and water. And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe. For these things came to pass, that the scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced"; Zech. xii. 10: "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn."

² ἀληθινός. Rev. iii. 7: "he that is true"; 14: "the faithful and true witness"; vi. 10: "O Master, the holy and true"; xv. 3: "righteous and true are thy ways"; xvi. 7: "true and righteous are thy judgements"; xix. 9: "these are true words of God"; 11: "called Faithful and True"; xxi. 5 and xxii. 6: "these words are faithful and true."

³ i. 5, 8, 17, 18: "and from Jesus

Christ, who is the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth. . . . I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty. . . . And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades." iii. 14, 21: "And to the angel of the church in Laodicea write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God: . . . He that overcometh, I will give to him to sit down with me in my throne, as I also overcame, and sat down with my Father in his throne"; v. 12, 13: "saying with a great voice, Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every created thing which is in the heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, heard I saying, Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honour, and the glory, and the dominion, for ever and ever"; xix. 16: "And he hath on his garment and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS"; xxii.

(6) A still stronger feature of resemblance may be seen in the similarity of the representations which the two books give of the Saviour's triumph as resulting from successive conflicts marked by apparent and temporary defeat. In these conflicts the Gentiles, centred in "Babylon," take the place held by the unbelieving Jews in the Gospel; and the "disciples" of the earlier days are represented by the Church, or "the bride" (of Christ).

It has been objected that the Revelation, unlike the other writings of John, gives the name of its avowed author.¹ But this is sufficiently accounted for by the prophetic character of the book. It was the practice of the prophets of the Old Testament, although not of the historians, to mention their names in their writings.

2. *The Readers.*

It was evidently meant for the Church at large—represented by "the seven Churches which are in Asia."²

3. *Date and Place of Composition.*

From one of the opening verses we learn that the revelation was made to John when he "was in the isle that is called Patmos" (in the Ægean Sea), "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus," and it would appear to have been committed to writing in the island imme-

12, 13: "Behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to render to each man according as his work is. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end."

¹ i. 1: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to shew unto his servants, even the things which must shortly come to pass: and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John"; ver. 4: "JOHN to the seven churches which are in Asia"; ver. 9: "I John, your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus"; xxii. 8: "And I

John am he that heard and saw these things."

² i. 4: "JOHN to the seven churches which are in Asia"; ver. 11: "What thou seest, write in a book, and send it to the seven churches; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamum, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea." "The scene lies wholly in the Eastern Provinces and especially in Asia among the seven churches; for Rome is on the extreme horizon, and is conceived only as the distant metropolis where the martyrs are sent to suffer the death decreed against them."—Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 295.

diately after it was received.¹ As to the *date* of the apostle's banishment to Patmos, Irenæus expressly mentions that the vision was seen almost within his own generation at the end of the reign of Domitian (Emperor 81-96 A.D.). There is nothing in any earlier writer to throw discredit on this statement; and there are several things in the book itself which seem to point to a late date of composition, *e.g.*, the important and intimate relation in which John appears to stand to the principal Churches of Asia Minor, the signs of marked spiritual declension in several of these Churches, the use of the expression "the Lord's day" instead of the earlier "first day of the week," and of the phrase "synagogue of Satan" which would scarcely have been employed by a Christian writer previous to the destruction of Jerusalem.²

At the same time, there are some observations by writers later than Irenæus that favour an earlier date. Tertullian tells us that at Rome the Apostle John was plunged in burning oil without sustaining any injury, and that he was afterwards banished to an island. It is in connection with the martyrdom of Peter and Paul that he makes the remark, which suggests the close of

¹ i. 9; 11: "What thou seest, write in a book, and send it to the seven churches"; x. 4: "And when the seven thunders uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying, Seal up the things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not"; xiv. 13: "And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow with them"; xix. 9: "And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb"; xxi. 5: "And he that sitteth on the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he saith, Write: for these words are faithful and true."

² ii. 4, 5 (Ephesus): "But I have this against thee, that thou didst leave thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else

I come to thee, and will move thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent"; iii. 1, 2: "And to the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars: I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead. Be thou watchful, and stablish the things that remain, which were ready to die: for I have found no works of thine fulfilled before my God"; i. 10: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day (*ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ*)"; ii. 9 (Smyrna): "I know thy tribulation, and thy poverty (but thou art rich), and the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and they are not, but are a synagogue of Satan"; iii. 9 (Philadelphia): "Behold, I give of the synagogue of Satan, of them which say they are Jews, and they are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee."

Nero's reign as the time referred to; and accordingly we find Jerome (about the end of the fourth century) making an explicit statement to that effect. It is quite possible Irenæus may have made a mistake, occasioned perhaps by the frequency of banishment in the reign of Domitian; and this is the view taken by some critics at the present day, who can only account for the style and character of the book on the supposition that it was written a considerable time before the Gospel. The key to the interpretation of the book, they conceive, is to be found in the identification of the reigning king in the seventeenth chapter with the Emperor Galba, the successor of Nero.¹ The latter is regarded as the head of the beast referred to in the thirteenth chapter,² the healing of its wound symbolising the restoration of Nero, who was then supposed to be still alive and in hiding in the East. Confirmation of this is found in other passages³ and in the symbolical "number of the beast" ("the number of a man . . . Six hundred and sixty and six"), which answers in Hebrew letters to the name "Neron Cæsar."⁴ But it would be more natural to reckon the number in *Greek* letters (as Irenæus did); and in either case a correspondence to it can be made out in the case of a great many other prominent names. This weakens very much the force of the argument, for "we cannot infer much from the fact that a key fits the lock, if it is a lock in which almost any key will turn."

Whatever interpretation we may give to the "number of the beast," there is now a growing conviction that the theory which dates the composition of the book before the

¹ xvii. 10: "and they are seven kings; the five are fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a little while."

² xiii. 3: "And I saw one of his heads as though it had been smitten unto death; and his death-stroke was healed: and the whole earth wondered after the beast."

³ xvii. 8, 11: "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and is about

to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition. And they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, they whose name hath not been written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast, how that he was, and is not, and shall come. . . . And the beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth into perdition."

⁴ xiii. 18.

destruction of Jerusalem must be abandoned,¹ and that the persecution referred to is not that which took place at Rome in the reign of Nero, but the sufferings inflicted on Christians at a later date, in the provinces, especially in Asia Minor, when they refused to worship the Emperor and Roma.² In support of this conclusion the following considerations may be adduced. (1) "The absolute and irreconcilable opposition between the Church and the Empire" which distinguishes this book from all the other writings of the New Testament, even the latest of them.³ (2) The description of Rome as "the great harlot that sitteth upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth committed fornication, . . . the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,"—which finds its explanation in the fact that the worship of Roma had spread over the Empire, and was now the most formidable rival that Christianity had to contend with.⁴ (3) The reference to Pergamum as the place "where Satan's throne is, . . . where Satan dwelleth"—

¹ "The foundation of the Apocalypse is indisputably the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem, and the prospect thereby for the first time opened up of its future ideal restoration."—Mommson, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Vol. ii. p. 197.

² "It is more important, however, to oppose the current conception, according to which the polemic is directed against the Neronian persecution of the Christians and the siege or the destruction of Jerusalem, whereas it is pointed against the Roman provincial government generally, and in particular against the worship of the emperors."—Mommson, *ibid.* p. 198.

³ "There is no wish for reconciliation with the persecuting power, only for vengeance on it (vi. 9-11; ix. 4); there is no thought of the possibility of bringing the State to a milder policy, by convincing it of the harmlessness of Christianity."—Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 297.

⁴ xvii. 1-6. "The worship thus introduced became a real Antichrist, that is to say, a world-religion entering into real rivalry with the Christian religion. It had not been possible to get heathen

nations to unite in the worship of any of the elder divinities. . . . Still more had the difficulty been felt of uniting different provinces in common worship. But here was a worship which found enthusiastic adherents all over the Roman world. And it was an aggressive and intolerant religion. Let men worship other gods or not as they pleased; but, if they refused to offer homage to Rome and the emperors, they were not merely irreligious persons, but bad citizens who deserved to be punished by the magistrates as disaffected persons, and as such to be hated by all who valued the established order. Accordingly at the annual meetings of the provincial *koina* there was almost always an outbreak of persecuting zeal against dissenters from the imperial cult. It was at one such that Polycarp suffered; at another that the martyrs of Lyons were put to death; and I believe that, if we had the full history of the Asiatic martyrdoms of the second century, we should find that all took place in connexion with these annual meetings."—Salmon's *Introduction*, 5th edition, p. 241.

that city having been the first place in Asia to possess a temple in honour of the Emperor (*Augusteum*), and having been the scene of a Christian martyrdom, apparently many years before the Apocalypse was written, "even in the days of Antipas my witness, my faithful one, who was killed among you."¹ (4) The nature of the death suffered by the martyrs: "and I saw the souls of them that had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God, and such as worshipped not the beast, neither his image, and received not the mark upon their forehead and upon their hand"²—as beheading was a common form of punishment with proconsuls, but not in use at Rome during the Neronian persecution.

As to the precise date which, according to this view, is to be assigned to the composition of the book, there is room for difference of opinion. Mommsen argues for the later years of Vespasian (75-80 A.D.) chiefly on account of the interpretation which he gives to certain passages, as referring to the expectation of the later pseudo-Nero's return with the help of the Parthians.³ Apart from this there seems to be no good reason why we should not accept the statement of Irenæus, already referred to, that the Revelation came to John in the closing years of Domitian, whose name is traditionally associated with persecution of the Christians (of which we have some traces in the writings of Dion Cassius and Suetonius), and

¹ ii. 13.

² xx. 4.

³ xvi. 12: "And the sixth poured out his bowl upon the great river, the river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way might be made ready for the kings that come from the sunrising"; xvii. 10: "and they are seven kings; the five are fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a little while." In the interpretation of the latter verse Mommsen sets aside Galba as well as Otho and Vitellius, and makes Vespasian to be the sixth king, leaving the seventh undefined.

The conception that the Roman and the Parthian empires were two great

states standing side by side, and indeed the only ones in existence, dominated the whole Roman East, particularly the frontier provinces. It meets us palpably in the Apocalypse of John, in which there is a juxtaposition as well of the rider on the white horse with the bow, and of the rider on the red horse with the sword (vi. 2, 3) as of the Megastanes and the Chiliarchs (vi. 15, cf. xviii. 23, xix. 18). The closing catastrophe, too, is conceived as a subduing of the Romans by the Parthians bringing back the emperor Nero (ix. 14, xvi. 12) and Armageddon, whatever may be meant by it, as the rendezvous of the Orientals for the collective attack on the West."—Mommsen, *ibid.* p. 1.

who took delight in the homage paid to him as emperor, and in the title of *dominus et deus* which had already been claimed by his predecessor Caligula.¹

4. *Character and Contents.*

The Revelation or Apocalypse² has many of the characteristics of the Book of Daniel. Both books consist largely of prophecy couched in the language of symbolism. This was a mode of expression frequently adopted by Jewish writers towards the close of the Old Testament dispensation, when, owing to foreign oppression, it would have been dangerous to speak plainly in matters affecting the national interests.³

The central theme is the second coming of Christ, in a magnificent setting of imagery—designed to represent the great struggles and events that are to precede the final consummation.

"After the Prologue, which occupies the first eight verses, there follow seven sections—

1. The letters to the Seven Churches of Asia (i.9—iii.22).
2. The Seven Seals (iv.—vii.).
3. The Seven Trumpets (viii.—xi.).
4. The Seven Mystic Figures—The Sun-clothed Woman; the Red Dragon; the Man-child; the Wild Beast from the Sea; the Wild Beast from the Land; the Lamb on Mount Zion; the Son of Man on the Cloud (xii.—xiv.).
5. The Seven Vials (xv.—xvi.).
6. The Doom of the Foes of Christ (xvii.—xx.).
7. The Blessed Consummation (xxi.—xxii. 7). The Epilogue (xxii. 8-21)."⁴

¹ Professor Ramsay concludes that the book cannot have been written before 90 A.D., but Dr Salmon dates it a few years earlier.

² Ἀποκάλυψις = Revelation (literally "uncovering").

³ "It is the work of a Christian writer who was familiar with Jewish *Apocalypses*, and adapted to his own purposes much that was contained in

some one or more of them; but this writer treated the material with a mastery and freedom that made his work in its entirety a Christian document, however strong are the traces of the older form in parts of it."—Ramsay, *ibid.* p. 299.

⁴ The above summary is taken from Farrar's *Messages of the Books*, p. 520.

The unity of the book is one of its most striking features ; and the attempts which have recently been made by some critics to assign it to several different authors have not been attended with success.¹

It must be acknowledged that the interpretation of the Revelation in detail is still, to a great extent, shrouded in mystery. Even those who feel assured that Nero is the man represented by the number of "the beast," and that the prophecy was delivered before the complete destruction of Jerusalem, find themselves beset with insuperable difficulties when they come to deal with certain portions of the book ; while in other passages their theory would seem to imply that some of the predictions of the Seer were very soon falsified by events. This is a supposition which it is almost as difficult to reconcile with the high estimation in which the Apocalypse continued to be held by the early Church, as with its divine inspiration.

The safest and probably the truest interpretation of the book is to regard it as a symbolic representation of great principles rather than as a collection of definite predictions. In other words, it is intended for the edification and comfort of Christ's people, not to give detailed information regarding the future to those who are clever enough to solve its enigmas. "Here, if anywhere, faith and love are the key to knowledge, not knowledge the key to faith and love. It is in the very spirit of the book, not in a spirit hard or narrow or unsympathetic, that it closes with the words 'the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with the saints.'"²

¹ Vischer has attempted to show that it was originally a Jewish Aramaic work composed about A.D. 69, and that it received its present form—by the addition of an introduction, a conclusion, and occasional interpolations—from a Christian writer about A.D. 95. The same view has been taken, with some modifications, by Sabatier ; but, still more recently, Spitta has propounded a theory

very much the reverse of Vischer's, holding that the book was originally a Christian document composed about A.D. 60, and that it was enlarged by a later redactor with the help of two Jewish Apocalypses, dating about 65 B.C. and 40 A.D.

² Dr Milligan on the Book of Revelation.

APPENDIX.

NOTE on Patristic Literature.

The first six of the following are usually called the "Apostolic Fathers":—

CLEMENT OF ROME, according to an ancient and unanimous tradition, was one of the earliest bishops of the Roman Church—the third according to Irenæus, his predecessors being Linus and Anencletus. Among the numerous writings that have been ascribed to him, only one is now regarded as genuine, which is known as his 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. It is only recently that the complete text has been obtained by the discovery of a MS. at Constantinople, and the collation of a Syriac translation. The letter is written in the name of the Roman Church, not without a tone of authority (although there is scarcely any more trace in it than in the New Testament of episcopal jurisdiction in a monarchical sense, the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" being still used as convertible). The object of the epistle was to cure the dissension and insubordination that had broken out in the Corinthian Church, and which had led to the deposition of some blameless presbyters. While the writer speaks of Peter and Paul to his readers as men of their own generation, this must not be taken too strictly; and the date now generally assigned to the letter, on what appear to be adequate grounds, is 95-96 A.D. The 2nd Epistle of Clement, so called, is a homily by an unknown author, probably written at Rome in the first half of the second century.

IGNATIUS, converted to Christianity comparatively late in life, succeeded Euodius as bishop of Antioch, and was martyred in the arena of the Coliseum at Rome, under Trajan, 110-115 A.D. His genuine writings are now generally held to consist of seven epistles, written in the course of his last journey, as a prisoner, from Antioch to Rome, viz. :—(from Smyrna) to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Romans, and (from Troas) to the Philadelphians, the Smyr-næans, and Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. With the exception of the epistle to the Romans, which relates almost entirely to the author's expected and eagerly-desired martyrdom, these epistles deal with questions of doctrine and discipline. They emphasize the reality of Christ's humanity in opposition to Docetic error (*cf.* p. 261), denounce Judaizing tendencies, and enforce the three-fold ecclesiastical order (bishop, presbyter, and deacon) in the interests of Church unity.

POLYCARP, for many years bishop of Smyrna, was born about 69-70 A.D., and suffered martyrdom in that city about 155-6 A.D., when (to judge from words uttered by himself on the day of his death, "Four-score and six years have I served Him, and He hath done me no wrong,") he was at least in his eighty-sixth year. From his disciple, Irenæus, we learn that he had been a hearer of the Apostle John (see p. 62), and that he had "not only been taught by apostles, and lived in familiar intercourse with many that had seen Christ," but had also "received his appointment in Asia from Apostles as bishop in the Church of Smyrna." The same author tells us that Polycarp wrote a number of letters, of a hortatory nature, both to individuals and to Churches; but the only extant writing bearing his name that is generally admitted to be genuine is his epistle to the Philippians, (specially mentioned by Irenæus), which was written nearly forty-five years before his death, about the time of Ignatius' martyrdom. It is of considerable length, but does not display much originality, borrowing largely from the teaching of "the Lord" and His apostles, as well as from the letters of Ignatius and Clement; and the chief value of his writing, as of his life, consisted in his unswerving attachment, in an age of transition and conflict, to the genuine apostolic tradition. Full particulars of his martyrdom are contained in a letter (still extant) from the Church of Smyrna to the Philomelians, which has been much admired for its simplicity and pathos.

BARNABAS.—To this well-known associate of St. Paul there was ascribed by the early Church Fathers an epistle containing twenty chapters, which is preserved in full in the Sinaitic MS., and in one of the MSS. recently discovered by Bryennius at Constantinople. It is very anti-Judaistic in spirit, maintaining that Judaism, in its outward and visible form, had not received the divine sanction, and that God's covenant had never belonged to the Jews. It betrays an imperfect acquaintance with Jewish rites and ceremonies, and a tendency to indulge in trifling allegories, for which reasons, as well as because of its Gnostic magnifying of the inner meaning of Scripture at the expense of its historical frame-work, most critics assign it to an unknown Gentile author of Alexandria, writing in the beginning of the second century. But it contains allusions and arguments which seem to imply that the destruction of the Temple had been a recent occurrence; and, for this and other reasons, some would assign it to about 80 A.D., and accept the tradition that it was the work of Barnabas.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.—This is the name of a work which was held in high esteem both by the Eastern and Western Church for hundreds of years, from about the middle of the second century. It bears to be written by one Hermas, whom Origen, without any definite or sufficient reason, identifies with the Hermas of Rom. xvi. 14. It consists of three parts: (1) Visions seen by Hermas (in

Rome and the neighbourhood); (2) Commandments, and (3) Similitudes which were delivered to Hermas by one who appeared to him in the guise of a shepherd, “the angel of repentance,”—the whole book being a call to repentance. Some regard the story as an allegory without any historical basis; others, with apparently better reason, conceive it to be of the nature of a prophecy, in the New Testament sense of the word, delivered by the author to the Church, as the result of his dreams and visions. The date of the book is very uncertain. The mention of Clement, to whom Hermas was charged to send the writing for communication to foreign Churches, and whom it is natural to identify with Clement of Rome, has led some to assign it to the latter part of the first century. But it is impossible to reconcile with this the statement in the Muratorian Canon that “Hermas composed the *Shepherd* very lately in our times in the city of Rome, while the Bishop Pius, his brother, occupied the chair of the Roman Church” (140-155 A.D.). Like the Epistle of Barnabas, this book is found in the Codex Sinaiticus, following the New Testament.

PAPIAS, Bishop of Hierapolis, was born 60-70 A.D., and published an *Exposition of Oracles of the Lord* (λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις) about 135 A.D. Only a few brief passages of the work have been preserved for us (by Irenæus and Eusebius), but Papias is frequently referred to by other writers. Eusebius characterises him as “a man of very mean capacity,” though very learned; and both he and Irenæus refer to his peculiar views, of a materialistic nature, on the subject of the Millennium. The chief object of his work above-mentioned seems to have been to interpret the Gospels in the light of all the traditions he could collect from the Lord’s disciples or those acquainted with them. According to Irenæus, Papias was a hearer of the Apostle John, a companion of Polycarp, and a man of the olden time; but Eusebius inferred (rightly or wrongly) from his language (which he quotes) that there were two persons of the name of John, and that it was not John the Apostle, but John the Elder, that Papias was acquainted with. The words of Papias are as follows:—“If I met anywhere with any one who had been a follower of the Elders, I used to enquire as to the discourses of the Elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord’s disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I would get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.”¹ There is room for difference of opinion as to the correctness of this inference by Eusebius.

¹ Εἰ δὲ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος, ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος· ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου

μαθητῶν· ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβυτέρος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν· Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσούτον με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

The *Didaché* or "TEACHING OF THE (TWELVE) APOSTLES" is the name of a work referred to by Eusebius and others—Clement of Alexandria even quoting it as "Scripture"; but no MS. of it was known till 1873, when Bryennius discovered at Constantinople a document containing both it and the epistles of Clement and Barnabas, and several other ancient writings. The first part of it is founded upon a still earlier work called "The Two Ways" (probably of Jewish origin, and perhaps also used in the epistle of Barnabas), which sets forth the way of righteousness and life, and the way of unrighteousness and death, somewhat after the manner of the Epistle of James. The second part is of a more ecclesiastical nature, and relates to prayer and fasting, the two sacraments, and various classes of teachers and office-bearers in the Church, concluding with an exhortation to watch and be ready for the second coming of the Lord. It was probably composed in the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, as we may infer from its identification of bishop and presbyter (§ 15), its allusion to the prophetic order as still surviving in the Church, and to the Agape or love-feast as still forming part of the Lord's Supper. It consists of sixteen short chapters.

ARISTIDES, an Athenian philosopher who lived in the first half of the second century, is mentioned by Eusebius and other writers as the author of a famous Apology; but it is only within the last few years that the work has been discovered, in a Syriac translation, in St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai. It was addressed to the Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), or to his successor, Antoninus Pius (who was also called Hadrian), or possibly to both. It may safely be assigned to 125-140 A.D. Much of it is occupied with an examination of heathen mythologies, but it contains allusions to the Lord's Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension; and its representation of the lives of Christians shows that the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount were in many cases carried out far more fully than in modern times. It is the oldest extant Christian Apology. That of Quadratus, which was written about the same time, is still undiscovered; but a quotation from it is given by Eusebius, who speaks highly of the work.

BASILIDES, a famous Gnostic speculator, taught at Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.). We learn from Eusebius that he wrote twenty-four books on the Gospel, and that a satisfactory refutation of his heresy was produced by Agrippa Castor. A considerable portion of his writings has been found in Hippolytus' *Refutation of all Heresies*, recovered in 1842 and published in 1851; and various accounts of his teaching are found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Epiphanius. Although his name is often mentioned by subsequent writers, he founded no school of importance, his only eminent disciple being his son Isidore.

MARCION, the son of a bishop of Sinope in Pontus, but excommuni-

cated on account of his heresy, became a Gnostic leader of great influence at Rome and elsewhere (about 140 A.D.), with followers in many lands not only in his own day but for generations afterwards. He set the New Testament in opposition to the Old, and represented the God of Redemption as essentially different from and superior to the God of Creation. To suit his purposes he framed a Gospel for himself, being a mutilated Gospel of Luke ; and of the rest of the canonical books he only acknowledged ten epistles of Paul (excluding Hebrews and the Pastoral Epistles), to which he gave the name of *Apostolicon*. His opinions are to be learned mainly from Tertullian and Epiphanius, who undertook to refute them.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS is "one of the noblest and most impressive of early Christian apologies in style and treatment." It is addressed by an anonymous author to an educated Pagan (whom Lightfoot is disposed to identify with the tutor of Marcus Aurelius) in answer to his enquiries about Christianity. While certainly not the work of Justin Martyr (to whom it has sometimes been attributed), it probably dates from the second century. The only MS. containing it (of the thirteenth century) was destroyed in Strassburg in 1870 during the Franco-German War. It consists of twelve short chapters, but the last two are probably of a much later date, and bear traces of an Alexandrian origin.

JUSTIN MARTYR, a native of Samaria, of Greek descent, after having tried various forms of Greek philosophy, especially Platonism, was converted to Christianity and became its zealous advocate at Rome, Ephesus, and elsewhere. Of his numerous writings there have been preserved to us (besides a few fragments) two *Apologies* addressed to Roman Emperors in vindication of the Christian life, and a *Dialogue with Trypho*, a Jew, being the account of a discussion at Ephesus, in which Justin sought to prove that Jesus was the Christ. He wrote before the middle of the second century, and was martyred about 165 A.D.

TATIAN, a native of Mesopotamia, was a teacher of rhetoric, well versed in Greek literature and philosophy. He came under the influence of Justin Martyr in Rome about 162 A.D., and became a zealous member of the Church ; but on his return to the East, after the death of Justin, he fell into Gnosticism of a peculiar type, and was regarded as the father of the Encratites. Among numerous other works he wrote an Apology under the name of an *Address to the Greeks*, which is still extant, and a kind of Harmony of the Four Gospels which he called *Diatessaron*.

ATHENAGORAS, an Athenian philosopher of the school of Platonists, wrote an Apology (176 A.D.) strongly resembling that of Justin, and a treatise on the Resurrection, both of which are extant and exhibit considerable intellectual power.

MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, a man of wide influence in Asia Minor, wrote on a great variety of subjects. Among his works (only frag-

ments of which have come down to us) was an Apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius (177 A.D.), designed to avert the rising persecution by vindicating the character of the Christians.

THEOPHILUS, Bishop of Antioch (171-184 A.D.), was a prolific writer ; but the only undoubted work of his that has come down to us is his *Apologia ad Autolyicum*, in three books, in which he bases his argument for Christianity largely on the Old Testament.

The MURATORIAN FRAGMENT, discovered by Muratori in a MS. of the eighth century, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (1730-40 A.D.), contains a list of the canonical books, which has been already referred to in Chap. I. Note A. It is in very bad Latin, apparently a translation from the Greek, but copied from an older MS. that had been previously mutilated. It is usually assigned to about 170 A.D.

LYONS AND VIENNE, Letter from the Churches of, to the Christians of Asia and Phrygia (177 A.D.), which has been preserved by Eusebius, tells the story of a dreadful local persecution, in which forty-eight Christians suffered martyrdom.

IRENÆUS, a native of Asia Minor, and a disciple of Polycarp, was appointed Bishop of Lyons 178 A.D. He had previously visited Rome as a delegate from the persecuted Church in Gaul, and had come into contact with many of the leading heretics. In order to counteract their teaching (especially that of Valentinus the Gnostic) he composed a *Refutation*, in five books, which has been preserved to us in a Latin translation, with fragments of the Greek and of a Syriac translation. It abounds in quotations from nearly all the books of the New Testament, and also embodies a number of traditions of "Elders"—men of a former generation, some of whom had been disciples of Apostles. Most of his other writings have perished.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA was head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria from 190 to 203 A.D., during which time he accomplished much literary work. His three chief writings that have come down to us are (1) his *Address to the Greeks*, designed to show the superiority of Christianity to all the religion and culture of heathenism ; (2) *The Tutor*, a text-book of Christian discipline ; (3) the *Miscellanies*, a kind of harmony of the truths of philosophy from a Christian point of view.

TERTULLIAN (*circa* 160-230 A.D.), a native of Carthage, was a married presbyter of the Church, but in his later years a votary of Montanism ("the Irvingism of the second century"). He wrote both in Greek and Latin, but only his Latin works have been preserved to us, which are very numerous and varied. He was a keen and able controversialist (with a strong anti-gnostic bent), and defended Christianity against heathens, Jews, and heretics.

HEGESIPPUS, an ecclesiastical writer of the second century, of Jewish descent and a member of the Church at Jerusalem, published (about 180 A.D.) five books of *Memorials*, fragments of which have been pre-

served by Eusebius. Hegesippus had previously visited Rome (where he appears to have spent many years), taking Corinth on the way, and making enquiry as to the Apostolic tradition. According to Eusebius, he found "everywhere the same doctrine."

CLEMENTINE HOMILIES (in Greek) and RECOGNITIONS (in a Latin translation by Rufinus) are based on the same original (an account of Peter's discourses to the heathen), but are in some respects widely different, the *Homilies* being strongly Ebionite in doctrine, the *Recognitions* more adapted for the use of the orthodox. They consist largely of a romantic story of the travels of Clement (the future bishop of Rome) in attendance on Peter, whose discourses he records; and they were evidently designed to exalt Peter as the apostle of the Gentiles at the expense of Paul, who is covertly referred to under the name of Simon Magus. The *Homilies* are twenty in number, and are addressed to James, the head of Jewish Christianity; the *Recognitions* derive their name from the hero's finding in succession his lost mother, brothers, and father. In their present form, the compositions may be assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the third century.

HIPPOLYTUS (170-235 A.D.), a hearer of Irenæus, and a Roman ecclesiastic of great importance in his day, whether as presbyter or bishop, wrote many books, of which the principal extant is his *Refutation of all Heresies*. Part of this work, under the name of *Philosophoumena*, used to be attributed to Origen, but in 1842 a MS. containing seven of the ten books of which the work is composed was discovered on Mount Athos, and it is now generally acknowledged to have been written by Hippolytus. Its chief value for us lies in the account which it gives of the Gnostic heresies of the second century. Hippolytus was ultimately banished to the mines of Sardinia, where he is believed to have perished.

ORIGEN (186-254 A.D.), a pupil of Clement Alex. and a man of immense industry and learning, exerted a wide influence by his lectures in Alexandria, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Athens, and elsewhere. He was a most voluminous writer on biblical, theological, and philosophical subjects. Eusebius tells us that he kept more than seven shorthand writers employed, besides as many copyists, and several female calligraphists. His chief work extant (besides Commentaries and Homilies in Latin translations) is his *Eight Books against Celsus*, in defence of Christianity. His life was one of struggle and hardship. In the Decian persecution he underwent torture, and died soon afterwards at Tyre.

FIRMILIAN, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (about 230-270 A.D.), was an intimate friend of Origen. His only writing extant is a letter to Cyprian, which has been preserved in the form of a Latin translation.

CYPRIAN, a wealthy teacher of rhetoric in Carthage, was converted

246 A.D., became bishop of his native city in 248 or 249, and suffered martyrdom 258 A.D. His extant works consist of controversial treatises and official letters.

EUSEBIUS (260-339 A.D.), bishop of Cæsarea, and friend of Constantine the Great, has been called the "Father of Church History," as Origen the "Father of Biblical Criticism." His *Ecclesiastical History*, in ten books, gives an account of the Christian Church down to 324 A.D. Although Eusebius himself seems to have been of a rather weak judgment, the facts and quotations with which his History teems make it a mine of wealth for the historian and the critic. Of his other works, the most valuable are his *Gospel Preparation* and *Gospel Demonstration*, both of an apologetic nature.

ATHANASIUS (299-373 A.D.), bishop of Alexandria, and the champion of orthodoxy in the great Arian Controversy, wrote numerous letters and treatises, chiefly of a doctrinal nature.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (315-386 A.D.), appointed bishop of his native city in 351, left a large number of catechetical addresses, which are valuable for the information they yield regarding the doctrine and the ritual of the early Church.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, an ecclesiastical miscellany in eight books, not earlier (in its present form) than the middle of the fourth century.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN (329-389 A.D.), son of a bishop of Nazianzus, was in his youth a fellow-student at Athens with Basil the Great and the Emperor Julian. He held various positions in the Church, being at one time archbishop of Constantinople, but ended his days in retirement at Nazianzus. Famous for learning and eloquence, he left an immense number of orations, epistles, and poems.

BASIL THE GREAT, born in Cæsarea (Cappadocia) in 330 A.D., succeeded Eusebius in the bishopric in 370, and died 379. He was a man of great elevation of character, and did much to promote monasticism, both in the East and the West. He was the author of many works of a theological nature, still extant.

GREGORY OF NYSSA (332-395 A.D.), younger brother of Basil, held various positions in the Eastern Church, but was chiefly celebrated as a theologian, being one of the most powerful defenders of the orthodox faith, in opposition to Arius and Apollinaris. His writings are numerous, and include both controversial and exegetical works.

EPIPHANIUS, bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus (367-403 A.D.), published in 377 A.D. his chief work (*Πανάριον*), dealing with eighty different heresies. He was famous for his learning and piety, but was deficient in breadth of view, and his statements are often very inaccurate. He was one of those who were strongly opposed to the teaching of Origen and his followers.

CHRYSOSTOM (*golden-mouthed*) was born at Antioch in 347 A.D.,

appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 397, and martyred 407 A.D. He was the greatest preacher of the Greek Church, and left many valuable writings, the most important of which are his *Homilies*.

JEROME or HIERONYMUS (341-420 A.D.), the greatest scholar of the Latin Church, and the translator of the Vulgate, left a variety of biblical and ecclesiastical works. For many years, in his later life, he dwelt in a hermit's cell, near Bethlehem.

AUGUSTINE, born in Numidia in 354 A.D., was converted, after a stormy youth, by Ambrose of Milan in 386, and became bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, about 396. He moulded the theology of his own and later times, and left numerous writings, the most famous of which are his *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei*. He died in 430, during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals.

THE GOSPELS.

NOTE on Undesigned Coincidences (p. 32).

(For a fuller statement see Blunt's *Scriptural Coincidences*.)

(1) *Cf.* Matt. xiv. 1, and Luke ix. 7, with Luke viii. 3 (and Acts xiii. 1) for an explanation of Herod's having "*heard of all that was done*" and speaking "*unto his servants*" about Jesus—viz., that there were believers at Herod's court ("Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward," and "Manaen, the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch").

(2) *Cf.* Matt. xiv. 19, 20; Mark vi. 39, 43; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 10, 13; with Matt. xv. 35, 37; Mark viii. 6, 8 (in the light of Matt. xvi. 9, 10) for a remarkable distinction carefully observed (1) between the two kinds of baskets (only discernible in the original, δώδεκα κοφίνους in the one case, ἐπτά σπυρίδας in the other); (2) between "the grass" and "the ground"; and (3) between "the men" and "the people."

(3) *Cf.* Matt. viii. 16 with Mark i. 21 and Luke iv. 31 (in the light of Matt. xii. 10) for an explanation of the fact that the sick were only brought to Jesus for healing "*when the even was come*"—viz., that it was the Sabbath day, during which it was considered by the Jews to be unlawful to heal.

(4) *Cf.* Matt. xii. 46; Mark vi. 3; Luke viii. 19; John ii. 12; xix. 25-27 (and Acts i. 13, 14)—all these passages concurring in giving the impression, although in an indirect manner, that Joseph was already dead.

(5) *Cf.* John xxi. 15 with Matt. xxvi. 31-33 and Mark xiv. 27-29—the two latter (which record Peter's boasts) supplying an explanation

of the former passage, where "Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of John, lovest thou me *more than these?*"

(6) Cf. Matt. iv. 13 ("he came and dwelt in Capernaum,") with Luke iv. 23 and x. 15—with reference to *Capernaum* as a favoured scene of Christ's ministry.

(7) Cf. Matt. xxvi. 67, 68 ("Prophecy unto us, thou Christ: who is he that struck thee?") with Luke xxii. 64—the latter explaining the former by the addition "*they blindfolded him*"—although evidently an independent narrative.

(8) Cf. Matt. xxvi. 65 (in the light of John v. 18, x. 33) with Luke xxiii. 2—the former referring to Christ's trial before the *Jewish Council* on a charge of *blasphemy*, the latter to His trial before *Pilate* on a charge of *sedition*, the accusation in each case corresponding to the tribunal.

(9) Cf. Matt. xxvi. 71 with John xviii. 16—the latter explaining indirectly how Peter should have been recognised in "*the porch*"—viz., because he "was standing at the door without" until "the other disciple, which was known unto the high-priest, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter."

(10) Cf. Mark vi. 31 with John vi. 4 ("Now the passover . . . was at hand")—the latter supplying an explanation of the great number of people in the neighbourhood at the time.

(11) Cf. John vi. 5, 8 with Luke ix. 10 and John i. 44, with reference to the connection of *Philip* and *Andrew* with *Bethsaida*, in the neighbourhood of which the miracle was wrought.

(12) Cf. John iii. 13, vi. 62, xx. 17 (where our Lord's Ascension is indirectly referred to) with the actual record of that event in Luke xxiv. 50-53.

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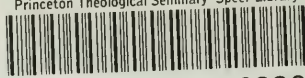
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